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IN THE LABYRINTH OF FABLES: TRACES OF PANCHATANTRA IN GEORGIAN LITERARY AND ORAL NARRATIVE TRADITION

ELENE GOGIASHVILI, TEODOSIO DE BONIS

ABSTRACT

In Georgia, the fables of *Panchatantra* are well-known through the book of *Kalila and Dimna*. However, some rare examples of direct parallels with the fables of *Panchatantra* appeared in Georgian literary sources and folk oral narratives. Next to the brief history of *Panchatantras*'s journey through centuries, and an overview of Georgian historical chronicles *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Life of Kartli), *A Book of Wisdom and Lies* by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, and Georgian folktales outline the transformations of some fables from *Panchatantra* in Georgia. The paper examines the role of animals in the fables in general, and shows the ways of interpretations on the example of the theme of ingratitude in context of European and Oriental narrative traditions.

Keywords: folktale, translation, literature, Kalila and Dimna.

INTRODUCTION

It is accurate to define the *Panchatantra* as the Adam of collections of stories framed and chained together. Not only as the first pure and original corpus, but also and above all in reference to the boundless progeny to which it has given birth over the centuries. Johannes Hertel, in the course of his extensive studies of the text, came to record over two hundred different versions of it in more than 50 languages, most of them outside India. This masterly Chinese box structure was constructed with the purpose of instructing and entertaining, thus serving as both *Fürstenspiegel* and moral bible for the people (Alphonso-Karakala 1975, 74).

The author and the date of composition of the original text, the so-called *Ur-Panchatantra*, remains unknown to this day. Thanks to references to other texts, however, it is possible to establish its approximate time limits: the lower limit, which is more uncertain, is set by scholars around 300 CE thanks to the author's clear knowledge of the technical literature of political science with references to Kautilya's Arthashastra (generally assigned to the first centuries of

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the common era). As for the upper limit, reference is made to the translation of the text into Pahlavi around 550 CE.

In the Prelude of the *Panchatantra*, it is told the story of Amarasakti, king of Mahilaropya, who, in despair over the poor education of his three degenerate sons, appeals to any guru who believes can awaken their intellect by offering a handsome reward. The octogenarian Brahman Vishnu Sharma takes up the challenge, guaranteeing to be able to bring the lazy princes to the path of virtue in just six months. And so the great labyrinth of *Panchatantra* begins, winding its way through five treatises (*Tantra*), each educating on a principle of *Niiti*, the wise conduct of life: I. The loss of Friends; II. The Winning of Friends; III. The Crow and the Owl; IV. The Loss of Gains; V. How to Avoid Ill-Considered Actions (Alphonso-Karakala 1975, 75).

However, the doctrines we find in the text are not entirely new. The similarities and influences of the Arthashastra, the treatise on political management and organisation of which the original date and author are also still debated, are in fact clear and evident. Although both are centred on the pursuit of the self for the collective good, the Arthashastra has nothing to say about individual salvation, while the *Panchatantra*, being intended for rulers and ruled, encapsulates the concepts of good governance in pleasant moral pills open to different levels of interpretation and application. A clear example that sums up the point of contact between the two texts, though often misinterpreted, is the story of the lion and the crow, whose moral reads: "The individual may be sacrificed for the family, the family for the village, the village for the state and for the self all the world may be sacrificed" (Kumar Gautam 2014, 67).

The article is divided into four main sections. The first explains the history of spreading of the fables of *Panchatantra* in the world. The second tells about first appearance of a fable of *Panchatantra* in Georgian medieval historical chronicles. The third overviews traces of *Panchatantra* in Georgian original book of fables by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, 17th-18th centuries. The fourth examines the role of animals in the fables in general, and shows the ways of interpretation of the theme of ingratitude in context of European and Oriental narrative traditions.

FROM PANCHATANTRA TO KALILA AND DIMNA

Given the depth and delicacy of its precepts and moral codes, it is not surprising that the *Panchatantra* struck emissaries and rulers from the kingdoms bordering India and thus began its westward journey by spreading its roots. According to legend, the text first migrated to Iran during the 6th century AD thanks to the court physicist of the Sassanid king Khosru I Anushiravan, Borzuy. He first went to India in search of a miraculous herb that could bring the dead back to life. After finding it and preparing the potion, he realised that it was ineffective and complaining to some Pandits, he was advised to consult a sage to investigate the mystery further. The sage then revealed to him that the herb he was looking for

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was nothing but knowledge, and the dead body a man without it. To bring men back to life it was therefore necessary to give them virtuous teachings contained in a secret book kept in the treasury of the king of India. Borzuy later managed to bring the text back to his homeland and it was then translated into the Pahlavi language, as well as readapted to the Zoroastrian thought of the time in content (Grigore 2013, 141).

The Pahlavi text was immediately translated into Old Syriac by Bud Periodeutes in 570 AD under the title *Kalinag-wa-Damanag* and later by Abdullah ibn al-Moqaffa into Arabic in 750 AD under the title *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, both referring to the name of the two jackals featured in the first book of the *Panchatantra*. Although there were other Arabic translations, that of Abdullah ibn al-Moqaffa was the one that was most widely adopted, becoming the main disseminator of the Sanskrit text in Europe (Alphonso-Karakala 1975, 79). Considering the five additional chapters of the Pahlavi version, some taken from the twelfth book of the Mahabharata and others narrating Borzuy's journey (Grigore 2013, 142), and the subsequent additions incorporated in the *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, we notice that the original third-century text transformed enormously since the very first translations, until it became an ever-deepening and hardly discernible underground pillar of many other versions.

This brings us to Ali bin Salin's Ottoman Turkish translation entitled *Humayunname* (The Royal Book), dedicated to Sultan Suleiman in the early 16th century. This translation served as the basis for many new variants (Grigore 2013, 145-146).

No other translated book in Georgia has had such complicated history than the book of *Kalila and Dimna* – in Georgian *Kilila da Damana*. The following scheme by Georgian orientalist Magali Todua (1927-2016) shows the way from Ur-*Panchatantra* to Georgian versions (Todua 2006, 132, see the genealogic sketch bellow).

A significant part in the creation of Georgian versions of *Kalila and Dimna* played Georgian King Vakhtang VI (1675-1737), author and organiser of numerous cultural and educational projects in Georgia's intellectual life in the 18th century. During his long stay in Persia, Vakhtang VI not only mastered the language but also gained an understanding of the literary trends and selected certain works to be translated into Georgian. He made a word for word translation of *Kalila and Dimna*, based on the *Anwar-I-Suhaili*. The revision of Vakhtang's translation has made his tutor Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. In his comments, Vakhtang VI mentions about older translations of *Kalila and Dimna* into Georgian, but only the 18th-century translations are preserved at the present. However, some fables of *Panchatantra* has been occur in Georgian literary sources and folk oral narratives. An overview of Georgian historical chronicles *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Life of Kartli), *A book of Wisdom and Lies* by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and Georgian folktales outline the transformations of some fables from *Panchatantra* in Georgia.

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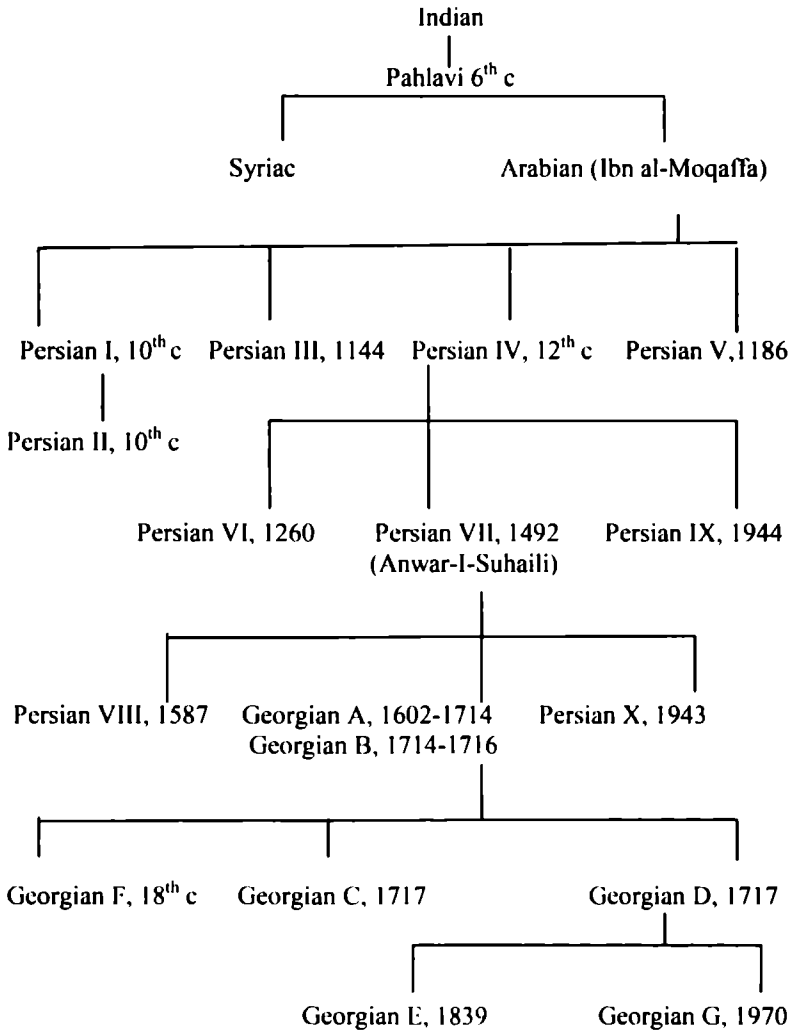

A FABLE OF PANCHATANTRA IN GEORGIAN EARLY SOURCES

In Georgian written sources, an adaptation of a fable from the *Panchatantra* first appeared in the Georgian historical chronicles *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Life of Kartli), a series of distinct texts dating from the 9th to the 14th century. An interpretation of the fable about a crow and a hawk related to the battle of birds in *Panchatantra* (book III) is inserted in the chronicles of the King Vakhtang Gorgasali (c. 439 or 443-502 or 522). It is not exactly clear, what was the primary source of this fable, seeing that it does not absolute match any fables from the book of *Kalila and Dimna* (Gvakharia 1995, 230). Probably this fable could be regarded as a first appearance of the *Panchatantra* in Georgian literature at all.

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The name of the author of the chronicles of the king Vakhtang Gorgasali is Juansher.[1] He described a political ideal of a powerful ruler, the last great king among the kings of Georgia before the Arabic invasion. Trapped between two empires, Byzantine and Persia, the king was depicted as a warrior for Christianity, fighting against the Zoroastrian attempts to subvert his ideal Christian ruling, but he also exhibited undeniable classical influences, considering himself as both defending the faith and striving towards the ideal of a philosopher-king. King Vakhtang's campaigns to faraway countries, namely, India, are presented as a fairy world, which geographically extended over the whole East. Juansher tells a story of Vakhtang's adventures in Sindeti.[2] Retelling the dispute of the king of the Sinds with Vakhtang, Juansher inserts a fable about the battles between crows and hawks taken from the *Panchatantra*. The king of Sindeti reminds Vakhtang about the evil deeds of Persians in reference to the Christians and warns him that the service in the interest of Persians will not return to him with good:

> "King Vakht'ang, you are like that unreasonable crow which met a wounded hawk, beaten by the eagle; unable to fly it was doomed to death. And the crow behaved contrary to the usual rules of crows. for when the ordinary crow sees a hawk, it begins to caw loudly, informing the other crows, and the whole flock falls upon the hawk to drive it off from its nest and secure peace for themselves, for even animals understand what is in their interest. The crow did not act in this way, but took pity on that hawk. It ceased to bring up its nestlings and began to collect diligently grasshoppers and snakes for the hawk, because it is not easy for a crow to obtain other food. And in such a way it supported the hawk. When the wounds on the hawk's wings healed, it said to itself: how many days I am eating grasshoppers and snakes; I cannot regain the power of my ancestors this way, for grasshoppers do not give me the strength I need. If I could catch some bird I would feed myself; but let me catch that crow, my benefactor; I will eat it and rest for a couple of days: when I regain strength, I will start to hunt according to the customs of my ancestors. And he did so: he caught the crow and ate it. Then it began to hunt large and fast-winged birds. And the crow gained no glory for its kindness, and they talk of it as of an unreasonable suicide. Nor was the hawk censured for its ingratitude and cruelty, for such is the usage and the custom of the hawk's race: it would lose strength and die feeding on those grasshoppers and so it behaved according to the rules and saved itself from death. The crow, on the other hand, behaved contrary to his own rules and died. The Persians, who were from the beginning, are now, and

[1] The identification of the author and dating of his works has been a subject of scholarly debates. Some modern scholars have suggested, though controversially, that the bulk of this work was, in fact, authored by the 11th-century chronicler Leonti Mroveli while the author of its untitled continuation, also ascribed to Juansher, is conventionally referred to as Pseudo-Juansher (Rapp 2003, 240; Gogoladze 2018, 285).

[2] It is difficult to identify this land by means of the historical sources of the epoch. Sindeti should be a part of India. Such kind of knowledge about these corners of the earth was well reflected on the historical and literary legacy of the European and Eastern peoples of early medieval times. India represents for them a synonym for the whole East in general. Even Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was thought to be one of the constituent parts of India for the world panorama (Gogoladze, 301-302).

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will ever be in the future, the enemies of the worshippers of the cross, are now showing love with a powerless hypocrisy. But when the time comes there will be no mercy or fond memories on their part for the worshipers of the cross. This has happened more than once, and we know this from books. When you saw the Persians exhausted by their fight with me, you did not behave as you should, you did not rejoice and offer thanks to your God, and summon other tribes and enemies to make war with the Persians and give aid to the enemies of Persia. You did nothing of the kind, but leaving your fathers' home turned to the commander of the great Christian army of Greeks, and (toiling hard), in two years became the main support for the Persians. But as soon as they recover, they will doom you and your country to destruction and eliminate a multitude of cross worshipers. This you truly bring on yourself and on the heads of the worshippers of the cross. Now, why did I tell you this parable about the crow? Because you, King, sovereign and brave, voluntarily enslaved your own self to your enemy. So why should I not call you unreasonable?" (*Kartlis Tskhovreba* 2014, 99).

King Vakhtang answers that he has arrived not as a servant of Persians, but as a servant of Christ: "I came into this world not for its glory, not to serve the King of Persia, but to serve the Creator, incomprehensible, and the consubstantial Trinity, the maker of the world, in their glory, for ever and ever. By my appearance here I am saving, in the first place, Jerusalem, the holy city, where the feet of our Jesus Christ walked and where he toiled in order to save our souls." (*Kartlis Tskhovreba* 2014, 99-100). Vakhtang defeats the King of Sinds in the direct combat but does not kill him. He spares the wounded king of the Sinds and brings him to the king of Persia. With the mediation of the king Vakhtang, Persians liberate him and achieve obeisance of Sindeti.

A BOOK OF WISDOM AND LIES BY SULKHAN-SABA ORBELIANI

The collection of fables by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (1658-1725) was written at the end of the 17th century and in the early years of the 18th. Among his other scholarly and literary works was a contribution to King Vakhtang VI's translation of the Persian *Anwar-I-Suhaili* into Georgian under the title of *Kilila da Damana. A Book of Wisdom and Lies* (the Georgian original title is "Sibrdzne-sitsruisa" which literally translates into "the wisdom of the lie", or "the significance of the fictional story") is a so-called framing narration including fables, didactic legends, fairytales, adventures and philosophical sentences, which is proof of the author's deep knowledge of literary sources and oral narratives.

In Orbeliani's work, the setting is a king's court. The protagonists are the great and renowned monarch Pinez, his wise and ingenious vazir, Sedrak, and his chief eunuch Ruka, a character of irascible and somewhat cynical disposition. In the prologue, it is stated that the king's only sorrow was that he had no children. At length, God had pity on Pinez and granted him a son, whom he christened Jumber. As the child grew up, his father wondered how to provide for his education, until he had a dream in which he saw a young man of noble and splendid appearance. As the king and his court are out hunting one day, they come upon a young man

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asleep under a tree. His appearance corresponds exactly to that of the figure in the king's dream. It turns out that the young man's name is Leon, an orphan; the monarch then takes him to be a tutor to the young prince, his son. The remainder of the work consists of an exchange of stories, parables, and aphorisms between the various characters, in which Leon takes the opportunity to express liberal, if sometimes Spartan views on education and on the duties of princes, and the eunuch Ruka airs his realistic and disillusioned view of human nature.

The title of the work by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani has an enigmatic underlying message. The Georgian heading *Sibrdzne Sitsruisa* suggests two variants of reading: wisdom of lies (falsehood), and wisdom of fiction (imaginary story). Scholars focus on the similarity of the book's name to that of another Georgian classic, *Sibrdzne Balahvarisi*, the *Wisdom of Balahvari*, which became well known in medieval Europe as the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. This is a Christianized version of the life of the Buddha. The story reached Georgia through Iranian and Arabic channels, and was subsequently rendered into Greek through the intermediary of St. Euthymius the Athonite (c. 955-1028). Attention has already been drawn by Georgian and European scholars to certain general affinities between the two works. David M. Lang designated several specific features which suggest that "Sulkhan-Saba had the Balahvari story directly in mind, or at least at the back of his mind, when he set to work on his own book. Firstly, the word "sibrdzne", wisdom, occurs as the key-word in both titles. Secondly, the names P'inez and Ruk'a given to the king and the eunuch in Orbeliani's book strongly recall those of the Indian king Abenes (in some variants, Iabenes) and his astrologer Rak'isin the Wisdom of Balahvar" (Lang 1956: 440).

Many of the tales and fables used by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani may be traced to Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Greek or Indian sources, others were undoubtedly picked up by Orbeliani from Georgian folk narrative tradition. A large number of the humorous tales in *A Book of Wisdom and Lies* are international, and as such had long become acclimatized in Georgian folklore. Reminiscences have been detected of such works as *Chardavrishiani* (The four dervishes), *Bakhtiarname* (The book of Bakhtiar), and *Timsariani* (The seven viziers) which are versions of medieval Persian romances, translated into Georgian in the eighteenth century. The *Sindbad-Namah* (the adventures of Sindbad) exists in a Georgian redaction, known as *Timsariani* (Timsariani 1903). *Bakhtiarname* is the story of Prince Bakhtiar, son of King Azdabakht. The plot of the romance is structured around fables told by nine viziers (Gvakharia 1968, 4-7). Some tales originate from *The Thousand Nights and One Nights*, i.e. ATU 62, *The Fox and the Cock*, and ATU 670, *Knowledge of Animal Languages*.

Sulkhan-Saba did not collect all of his material from written sources. Many components in his book are taken from Georgian folktales and some are original tales created by Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani's imagination. Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani assembled these variegated motifs to create an imaginative ensemble infused with distinct and authentic Georgian story-telling elements. In *A book of Wisdom and Lies* there are

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more than 30 plots which are widespread in Georgian oral narrative repertoire (Cholokashvili 2005, 7). Despite of framing narration and literary and folkloric motifs, *A book of Wisdom and Lies* by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani is an original work with unique composition and teaching suggestions, still popular among Georgians as a book which instructed and entertained many generations of readers.

THE ROLE OF ANIMALS IN THE FABLES IN CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN AND ORIENTAL NARRATIVE TRADITIONS: THE THEME OF INGRATITUDE

The composition of the animal tales depends on oral narrative traditions and historical-cultural processes. The international relations and diversity of forms are very complex.[3] One of the sources of animal tales is mythological beliefs but certainly not the only one.[4] The origin of motifs is not always clear, but variations of cultural background are noticeable. As well as original, literary plots are also included in the national repertoire of storytelling.[5] Some of the animal tales are undoubtedly borrowed and the plots also date back to ancient times. For example, a lion or a monkey, never found in Georgian natural environment, became common characters in Georgian folktales. Meanwhile, antiquity has left a rich fable heritage in which animals play a big role. In Georgian folklore, there are many falls of literary influences in the folktales: the plots from the national literature and the plots from translated literature.

The animal tales broadly reflect the human life with its passions, greed, deceit, stupidity, friendship, loyalty and gratitude. However, fables and animal tales are different in terms of the genre specifics. Selected animal tales can be used for creating fables but can be used for satire purposes too.

The animal tales present stories in which the animals are the main characters. However, this feature is not completely reliable. In animal tales sometimes humans

[3] The collecting of the Georgian folktales including animal tales started in the XIX century. Georgian folklorists Aleksandre Khakhanashvili, Mikheil Chikovani, Apolon Tsanava, Pikria Zandukeli focused on several cultural-historical aspects of Georgian animal tales such were: origins, themes, didactic and entertainment functions, literary influences (Turashvili 209-211).

[4] Rusudan Cholokashvili researched the animal tales in connection with the mythological relicts, pre-Christian and pagan beliefs (Cholokashvili 2004, 2005, 2006).

[5] Elene Virsaladze made the first systematization of the Georgian animal tales (Virsaladze 333-363). Teimuraz Kurdovanidze continued the work on the catalogue of Georgian animal tales according to the system of Anti Aarne and Stith Thompson (Kurdovanidze 2000). After T. Kurdovanidze's catalogue, there are 121 tale types of animal tales spread in Georgian folklore and only 69 of them accord to the system of Aarne-Thompson *Types of International Folktales* (Kurdovanidze 2002: 168). In 2010-2012, based on the Folklore Archive of Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature, the project "Electronic Platform of the Comparative Analysis of the Georgian Folk Prose" by Elguja Dadunashvili was carried out (Web Platform of Comparative Folk Narrative Research 2012). Within the frame of this project it was also created an electronic programme which helps to analyse the episodes of the tales and to compare them with the Types of International Folktales' catalogue. The Electronic programme gave an opportunity to disclose the relevance of the types of the animal tales which are not reached by the catalogue of the Types of International Folktales.

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appear as in fairy tales, but the key difference between these genres is the role of the animal: in fairy tales the animals are supporting characters and can be helpers of the hero or antagonist figures, in animal tales, the hero is an animal itself and people only the object of its actions.

Animal tales are not stories inspired by animal life, they actually have very little to do with animals' behaviour and habits. Yet, in order to give tales the marks of realism and make them believable, animals act according to their nature: the donkey brays, the cock crows, the fox lives in a hole, the bear is slow and sleepy, etc.

The protagonists in the *Panchatantra* are mostly animals, both wild and domestic. The allegories they represent draw on the Indian cultural tradition and, by referring to it, allow us to quickly associate the characters with human flaws and virtues. The psychological profile of some characters is certainly more defined and fixed than others. The lion, for example, is always identified as the undisputed king of the forest, noble, proud but often foolish: a characteristic that legitimises the need for the text insofar as it was intended for educating about the art of governing, although, according to many scholars, it was intended for ministers rather than kings. The ruler therefore needs to be guided and supported in his choices by advisors and this is where the two jackals Karataka and Damanaka, the epitome of greed and cunning, come into play in the first book. Their role is often played by the fox in the European tradition, as it is in the Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani text, where its wit is also punished (e.g. in story 19, "Building a village"). Moreover, in story 53 of the Georgian text "The Donkey and the Tiger", the tiger seems to replace the lion of the *Panchatantra*. The reference to the frame story in Book I is clear: just as the lion, frightened by the bestial moaning of what he does not know to be a harmless ox, decides not to approach, so does the tiger, having heard the donkey. The latter, like the dog and the snake, appears in both texts but with very different characteristics. In Indian tradition it represents the one whose only priority is to satisfy the pleasures of the flesh, specifically sexual activity and eating. In The Wisdom of the Lie, it takes on a more ambivalent, but certainly more dignified, character: for example, the wit-stupidity duplicity can be seen in stories 36 ("The Wolf as a Farrier") and 46 ("The foolish donkey"). As for the dog, the Indian one is a symbol of spite and greed and is associated with the unworthy activity of hunting, characteristics which do not appear at all in the Georgian tradition (we see it for instance in story 19, "Dog and cock work together"). Another important example of deviation from the Indian tradition, as well as duplicity of role, is also given by the figure of the snake. The Indian snake is double-tongued and double-crossing, a character that cannot in any way be trusted but only feared. On the other hand, the Georgian snake, although dangerous and treacherous as we see in story 110 "The man and the snake", is also capable of gratitude, as it appears in stories 111 "The good-hearted snake" and 124 "The peasant and the three snakes".

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THE JOURNEY OF "THE CROCODILE, THE BRAHMAN, AND THE FOX"

As already mentioned, all ancient and medieval translations come from the lost Pahlavi one, which in turn originates from the lost Ur-*Panchatantra*, the original version. Before and while travelling to the West the text evolved and transformed multiple times also within India itself and gave birth to many different versions, making it hard to establish the initial structure and tales. Yet, thanks to extensive scholarly research, we can group the Indian collections in two main families: the North-Western and the Southern. In the North-Western family the most relevant is the *Tantrakhyayika*, a version from Kashmir to which Johannes Hertel assigned the primacy after bringing to light other numerous unknown versions. On the other hand, the major representative of the Southern Family is the so-called *Southern Panchatantra*, that Frank Edgerton believed contains more than 75 per cent of the original prose after completing his attempt to reconstruct the text of the original *Panchatantra* on the basis of all the extant versions. Whether he succeeded or not most scholars would concede that "the reconstructed text contains every story that was found in the original, and the original contained no stories other than those included in the reconstructed text" (Olivelle 1997).

The theme of ingratitude, along with the fable "The Crocodile, the Brahman, and the Fox" can be found only in Southern versions of the *Panchatantra*. Edgerton does not insert it in his reconstructed collection of fables considered "original" and neither does Hertel. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to mention it in this research context as it represents a clear direct link to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's work and many other.

"The Crocodile, the Brahman, and the Fox" falls in the category of ATU 155, *The rescued animal threatens to eat his benefactor, but is then returned to captivity*. The dynamics of this story type see a man (or an animal) who rescues a character considered dangerous (crocodile, snake, etc.) from a trap, who then seeks to kill the rescuer in return. Other characters (generally 3) are then asked whether a good deed should be repaid with a bad one. The last of the judges is generally a fox (or jackal), who asks the ungrateful to show how it was trapped. The latter is then killed or kept in captivity.

This fable introduces a crocodile as one of the two main characters, typically a symbol of hidden danger in Indian tradition. It is interesting to dwell on the choice of judges: the first two are represented by a mango tree and a cow, both sacred to Hindus, while the third and decisive one is a fox (or jackal depending on the translations). As mentioned before, the latter represents the typical minister-counsellor whose main characteristic is wit and seems to be indirectly elevated to the level of the first judges, probably to underline once again his importance in good governance. In this version of the story we therefore see how ingratitude is eventually punished and the two characters ally themselves in doing so, a final detail that will be totally reversed in the Georgian text.

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THE CROCODILE, THE BRAHMAN, AND THE FOX, PANCHATANTRA

"A crocodile beseeched a Brahman to carry it to Benares, so it could live in the Ganges. Touched with compassion, the Brahman put the crocodile into his bag and carried it to the holy river. However, just as he was about to release the crocodile into the water, the latter seized him, and was about to kill him. The Brahman accused his captor of ingratitude, who in turn replied that virtue and custom allowed one to eat the person who had sustained him. The Brahman insisted that three impartial judges should decide the case, and declared himself willing to abide by their decision. They turned first to a mango tree, whom the Brahman asked if it were permitted to repay a good deed with evil. The mango tree replied that such was the treatment he and his kind always received from humans. "They partake of our fruits and of our shade, and then uproot us," it said. Next they turned to an old cow. She too said that humans had abandoned her after she was of no more use to them. Any moment she expected to fall prey to a wild animal. They still needed a third judgment, and for this they turned to a fox. He too seemed inclined against the Brahman, but before finalizing his decision, he wanted to see how the two had journeyed together. To demonstrate, the unsuspecting crocodile crept back into the Brahman's bag. Acting on a cue from the fox, the Braham struck the now helpless crocodile dead with a stone, and the fox ate it up." (Benfey 1859, 113-114. Abstract translation by D.L. Ashliman's).

THE FARMER AND THE SNAKE, AESOP

One winter a Farmer found a Snake stiff and frozen with cold. He had compassion on it, and taking it up, placed it in his bosom. The Snake was quickly revived by the warmth, and resuming its natural instincts, bit its benefactor, inflicting on him a mortal wound. "Oh," cried the Farmer with his last breath, "I am rightly served for pitying a scoundrel." The greatest kindness will not bind the ungrateful. (Aesop 1887, translation by George Fyler Townsend).

There is another Aesop's version of the fable about ingratitude – "The Walnut Tree". Illustrating the ingratitude of those who requite good deeds with cruelty, it concerns a walnut tree standing by the roadside whose nuts the passersby used to knock off by throwing sticks and stones. It then complained, "People gladly enjoy my fruits, but they have a terrible way of showing their gratitude." Its complaint is related to a debate on gratitude that occurs in a parallel Indian story from the *Panchatantra*. There a mango tree is asked whether it is lawful to return evil for good and replies that its experience of man is violent treatment despite providing him with fruit and shade.

In the Latin collection of anecdotes and tales *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans), written in Latin by an anonymous English scribe about 1330, the story about ungratefulness has the same structure as "The Crocodile, the Brahman, and the Fox" but the characters are an emperor, a serpent and a philosopher:

ABOUT THE KING FREEING THE SERPENT, GESTA ROMANORUM

An emperor rode out in the afternoon to hunt. Happening to pass a certain wood, he heard a serpent, which some shepherds had caught and bound firmly to a tree, making a

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most horrible clamor. Moved by pity, he loosed it, and warmed its frozen body in his own bosom. No sooner, however, did the animal find itself recovered, than it began to bite its benefactor, and shot a flood of poison into the wound. "What have you done?" said the emperor. "Wherefore have you rendered evil for good?" The serpent, like the ass of Balaam, being suddenly endowed with voice, replied, "The propensities which nature has implanted no one can destroy. You have done what you could; and I have only acted according to my nature. You exhibited towards me all the kindness in your power, and I have recompensed you as well as I might. I offered poison, because, except poison, I had nothing to offer. Moreover, I am an enemy to man; for through him I became punished with a curse." As they thus contended, they entreated a philosopher to judge between them, and to state which was in the wrong. "I know this matter," answered the umpire, "only by your relation; but I should like to see the thing itself upon which I am to pronounce judgment. Let the serpent, therefore, be bound to the tree, as he was in the first instance, and let my lord the emperor remain unbound; I shall then determine the matter between you." This was done accordingly. "Now you are bound," said the philosopher, addressing the serpent, loose yourself if you can." "I cannot," said the serpent; "I am bound so fast that I can scarcely move." "Then die," rejoined the philosopher, "by a just sentence. You were always ungrateful to man, and you always will be. My lord, you are now free. Shake the venom from your bosom, and go your way. Do not repeat your folly. Remember that the serpent is only influence by his natural propensities." The emperor thanked the philosopher for his assistance and advice, and departed. (*Gesta Romanorum* 1906, 336-337, translation by Charles Swan).

In the end of this story is an appended moral: My beloved, the emperor is any good ecclesiastic, the wood is the world, and the serpent is the devil. The shepherds are the prophets, patriarchs, Christian preachers, etc. The philosopher is a discreet confessor.

In *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the tale of the wolf and the fox there is inserted tale of the ungrateful serpent: The serpent seeks help only as long as its safety is threatened; when safe again, it threatens to bite its rescuer. This tale is told in attractive and poetic way according to poetic characteristics of *The Thousand Nights and One Night*. Cited is a text from John Payne's translation:

THE TALE OF THE WOLF AND THE FOX,
THE THOUSAND NIGHTS AND ONE NIGHT

As for the reward thou promisest me, I liken thee therein to the serpent that fled from the charmer. A man saw her affrighted and said to her, "What ails thee, O serpent?" Quoth she, "I am fleeing from the serpent-charmer, who is in chase of me, and if thou wilt save me and hide me with thee, I will make fair thy recompense and do thee all manner of kindness." So he took her, moved both by desire of the promised recompense and a wish to find favour with God, and hid her in his bosom. When the charmer had passed and gone his way and the serpent had no longer any reason to fear, he said to her, "Where is the recompense thou didst promise me? Behold, I have saved thee from that thou dreadest." "Tell me where I shall bite thee," replied she, "for thou knowest we overpass not that recompense." So saying, she gave him a bite, of which he died.

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And I liken thee, O dullard, to the serpent in her dealings with the man. Hast thou not heard what the poet says? Trust not in one in whose heart thou hast made wrath to abide/ And thinkest his anger at last is over and pacified./ Verily vipers, though smooth and soft to the feel and the eye/ And graceful of movements they be, yet death-dealing venom they hide." (The Thousand Nights and One Night 1901, 33).

In *A Book of Wisdom and Lies* by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani the fable on the theme of ingratitude is included in the dispute between the main characters Ruka and Leon. Ruka argues that no one ever returns a good deed for another.

THE MAN AND THE SNAKE, A BOOK OF WISDOM AND LIES

A man was going along the road when he saw a thorn-buch on with a snake caught in it. Unable to escape, it was writhing and hissing. The man pitied it when he saw it, and said to himself: "If I save the life of that snake it will be grateful to me." He went up to the bush and held out the point of his spear. The snake coiled round it, slid on to the man's shoulder and twined itself tightly round his neck. He asked it: "What harm have I done you, that you should do this to me? Have I not saved you from death?" The snake said: "Nobody ever repays one good deed with another, and neither shall I." The man pleaded with it: "Spare me until we come to that plane-tree yonder, and we will ask it to judge: if the tree takes my part and forbids you to harm me, you shall let me go; otherwise, do with me as you will!' The snake loosened its hold a little and they went on and approached the plane-tree. The man said to it: "I have saved the life of this snake, and now it is about to strangle me." The plane-tree said: "I, who am a tree, stand here alone in the heat of the plains; there is nowhere for travelers to rest but in my shade. They come to refresh themselves, and I provide this cool shelter for them. Then they break off my branches; some of these they burn, others they make into little boxes, and say: "This is a fine piece of wood!" No good deed is repaid with another. Serpent, tighten your hold!" The snake squeezed the man's neck more tightly, so that he begged it again: "Loosen your coils a little! Here is an ox grazing: let us put our case to it." They went on, and consulted the ox. It said: "I plought, harrow and thresh the corn, from summer to winter I labour for men; and they throw me to the ground and slaughter me because "a guest has arrived"! No one ever returns a good deed for another: serpent, tighten you hold!" The snake clasped the man's neck still more tightly. He pleaded with it: "Spare me yet a little longer and let us ask that fox over there!" They went on, and spoke to the fox. The man complained of the snake's ingratitude, and the snake repeated the verdict of the plane-tree and the ox. The fox said to the snake: "I have been appointed Supreme Judge by the lion, the king of beasts. How can I give judgement while you are coiled round this man's neck? Release him, and both of you go down on your knees!" As soon as the snake obeyed and glided to the ground the fox struck it on the head with a piece of wood and killed it. "That is snake justice!" it said. Then the man's thoughts turned to the fox, and he decided to strike it with his spear, thinking: "It has a fine pelt." The fox divined what was in his mind and took to its heels, saying to itself: "I was wrong to save him!" (Orbeliani 1982, 129-130, translation by Katharine Vivian).

In Georgian folkloric version of the tale type ATU155 as main characters appear a monkey, a snake and a fox.

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THE FOX AS JUDGE, GEORGIAN FOLKTALE

Once a monkey saw a snake crushed under a large stone. The monkey raised the stone a little and the snake crawled out. When it was at liberty, it said to the monkey, "I am going to eat you." The monkey answered, "Softly. First let us hear the judgment of someone, and if I am condemned, then you shall eat me." Afterwards they met the fox. The fox said, "The better to render judgment I must see just how the matter has happened." They all returned to the spot and arranged matters as they were at first. But as soon as the monkey saw the snake under the stone he cried out, "Where you are, there I will leave you." (Ketelauri 1977, 25-27, abstract's translation by Elene Gogiashvili).

This tale type are widespread in Asian folklore with several variations. "The Jackal's Judgement" from Sri Lanka with a crocodile and a man as main characters (Parker, 1910, no. 63, pp. 339-40), Italian "The Ingrates" with a man, a snake and a fox (Crane, 1885, no. 38, pp. 150-51), Sicilian "The Lion, the horse and the fox" (Gonzenbach 1870, no. 69, pp. 77-78), Greek "The man, the serpent and the fox" (Morosi 1870, 75), Pakistani "The young man and the snake" (Swynnerton 1892, no. 42, pp. 133-38). In some folkloric versions, the judge is the King Solomon, for example, in Romanian version of the ATU155 (Gaster 1915, no. 112, pp. 325-326). In Europe, this type of story is documented in the twelfth century by Petrus Alfonsus, Disciplina clericalis (No. 5) and in Gesta Romanorum.

CONCLUSION

Every Orientalist, dealing with fables is a folklorist, and every folklorist becomes an Orientalist to some extent. Methodologically regarded, the study of animal tales and fables has always indicated the interdisciplinary character of the research. It is also important to notice that our work is not a matter of going back to the 19th-century theories of tales' migration, but an example of the importance of cultural transfer in different regions. The literary approach and the folkloristic approach thus come closer in examining the specifics of genres and their possibilities of narrative interpretations.

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NEW MODELS OF AZERBAIJANI, TURKISH AND ENGLISH PROVERBS

KHANKISHI MEMMEDOV

ABSTRACT

There are now many works on this subject in academic journals around the world. The reason is very simple: there are enough intelligent people who bow and kneel before the depth, wisdom, power, intelligence and reason of the untold wealth of the people's history called folklore. This study examines several new models of proverbs and their structural-semantic analysis, not found either in reality or in academic folklore archives. It is noted that these models and terms are used in the literature for the first time by the author of these lines. These are the following: 1) *dildonmez* (unrelenting) proverbs – here the consonants "l" and "r" are not used, causing the tongue to turn in the mouth; in other words, the language in such works should remain in a stable state and not change its state during the performance; 2) *evvel-akhir* (beginning-end) proverbs – (literally "beginning-end", i.e. the same sound at the beginning and at the end of the line); 3) *chokhyarpag* (multi-leaved) proverbs – literally "multi-leaf"; where the text is built on cross rhymes and named according to the number of cross lines: *ikiyarpag/goshayarpag* (two-leaved/double leaved), *uchyarpag* (three-leaved), *dordyarpag* (four-leaved), *beshyarpag* (five-leaved), etc. The results of the study show that the internal semantics of proverbs hides an inexhaustible stylistic richness, as well as reveal the possibility of creating images of languages. It is noted that, from the point of view of the modern system of thinking, the new models of approach of Azerbaijani, Turkish and English proverbs "dildonmez", "evvel-akhir" and "chokhyarpag" require their systematic study, as well as their transmission to the younger generations. Because today the world needs more intellectual weapons, and this is the need of the hour.

Keywords: Azerbaijani folklore, Turkish folklore, English folklore, "dildonmez" proverbs, "evvel-akhir" proverbs, "chokhyarpag" proverbs, structural-semantic analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Research shows that no genre of world folklore has had as many articles or books written about it as proverbs and sayings. It would be wrong to give an exact figure for this number, which now umbers fifty, perhaps hundreds of thousands.

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There are now many works on this subject in the press organs of the most advanced countries of the world (Arnott 2007; Başgöz 2006; Bekiroğlu 2014; Dundes 1975; Gray 2018; Kara 1995; Macadam 2006; Mieder 2019, Syzdykov 2014). In our opinion, this is also natural. Because, there are many intelligent people who respect the depth, wisdom and power of the untold wealth of the people's history called folklore, and draw strength, power and lessons from it. To learn from proverbs, though, one must be a diver. For that you need to study history, geography, philosophy, logic, music, ethnography, mathematics, folk medicine, mythology, pedagogy, psychology, almost all sciences. And this is not everyone's destiny. Because proverbs and sayings, considered small particles of the philosophy of life, whose date of study is older than Aristotle, are masterpieces, each of them a book without a "preface", resembling a world with a thousand doors, but whose mysterious and magical locks have not yet been fully opened. Each lock reveals one mystery. Each lock has a magic code. It depends on who opens it and how one enters this world, and if one can enter this world, how does one understand it, how does one perceive it? Understanding them correctly and categorizing them correctly and using them at the right time is wisdom in itself. People who are in the essence of the blood and the soul is not reasonable, they are not given to understand the folk wisdom, or rather, simply cannot. Therefore, a comprehensive study of folklore is considered the most valid unit for society and confirms the relevance of the problem under study. Because even today, many people have a great need for proverbs. Because this philosophy, called "proverbs", teaches people to draw the right conclusions from life events and thus comprehend reality in the mind, teaching an adequate perception of truth, expands the way of human thinking, improves his tastes, brings joy to his soul, strengthens his will, or rather, takes a person by the hand, becoming a light, a beacon, which leads him through life, and as a result prolongs human life. In this sense we can use the expression: "Whoever wants to live long, let him engage in folklore". For this reason every proverb and saying is as close and dear to us as every *ayat* of our holy book. Therefore, our trust in them is very strong. These sayings, far from any assumption, are axioms, not in need of correction or proof; they are immutable laws. Apparently, for this reason proverbs and proverbs are considered the standard of intellectual development of every nation. That is why one of the main tasks of literary studies is the full disclosure of the mystery of proverbs, striking people with the richness of form, breadth of content, simplicity, fluidity, truthfulness, closeness to the people's spirit, wisdom. For this, new research is needed.

THREE NEW MODELS OF PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

This study examines several new models of proverbs and their structural and semantic analysis, which have not been found either in reality or in academic folklore archives. Note that these models and terms are used by us in the literature for the first time. These are the following:

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1) "Dildonmez" (unrelenting) proverbs – "dildonmez" refers to examples of words that do not use the consonants "l" and "r", causing the tongue to turn in the mouth. In other words, the tongue in such works should remain in a stable state and not change its state during performance;

2) "Evvel-akhir" (beginning-end) proverbs – literally "beginning-end" (i.e. the same sound at the beginning and at the end of a line);

3) "Chokhyarpag" (multi-leaved) proverbs – literally "multi-leaved" etc. Where the text is built on cross rhymes and named according to the number of cross lines: *ikiyarpag/goshayarpag* (two-leaved/double-leaved), *uchyarpag* (three-leaved), *dordyarpag* (four-leaved), *beshyarpag* (five-leaved), etc.

As seen, proverbs and sayings with rich semantic and stylistic features attract attention not only with their ideological content and artistic meaning, but also with the features of form. This means that each of the proverbs and sayings, similar to the colorful plot and composition, drawn by the people and based on the psychology of life, has its own life in the poetics, so its potential is very wide.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

1. "DILDONMEZ" (unrelenting) PROVERBS

First of all, what is *dildonmez*? "Dildonmez" refers to examples of words in which the consonants "l" and "r" are not used, causing the tongue to turn in the mouth. In other words, the language in such works should remain in a stable state and not change its state during performance. By the way, in some literary circles this phonopoetic operation is also called "dilterpenmez". Thus, we conclude that "dildonmez" is in fact a form of lipogram. It should be noted that the case of omission of any letter or several letters in the text is still found in ancient sources. Any omission of language in a text is called "lipogram" in English, "leipogramm" in German, "lipogramme" in French, "lipograma" in Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese, and "lipogram" in Russian. The term "λειπογραμμέτη", formed from the Greek words "λειπω" for "refusal" and "γράμ" for "writing", is also called "lipogram" in ancient Greek. İn the sixth century B.C., the Greek lyricist Lasus of Hermionen wrote two poems without the letter "σ" (Ode to the Centaurs and Hymn to Demeter). In history we also find poems without the letters "alpha" and "beta". Nestor of Laranda used this phrase when he rewrote Homer's *Iliad*. The most famous lipograms are also found in the work of the French writer Jorj Pereka. In his 300-page novel *La Disparition*, he did not use the letter "e" one of the most common vowels in French. The book, titled "La Disparition" in Hungarian and French, "Disappearance" in Russian and "A Void" in English, has been translated into various languages, including English, Italian, German, Romanian, Spanish, Turkish, Swedish, Dutch, Japanese and even Catalan. G. Derjavin of Turkish-Tatar origin wrote twelve poems without an "r" between 1791 and 1802: "Anacreon in Assembly" (consists of 31 lines and 138 words) – 1791, "Nightingale in Sleep" (consists of 20 lines and 82 words) – 1797, etc. The Russian-American poet of

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Ukrainian origin, D. Burlyuk, also wrote poems without the presence of "r" and "s". The American writer Edgar Allan Poe did not use the letter "z" in his poem "The Raven," published in 1845. As you can see, this method has been used from time to time and it is known to the literary world. It is also interesting that the record in this area belongs to the American writer Ernest Vincent Wright. His famous 1939 novel *Gadsby*, which is over 50,000 words, did not use the letter "e"! In general, in world literature, we witness the refusal to use at most five letters at the same time in both poetry and prose works. But in Azerbaijani and Turkish literature, it is observed that nine letters which are pronounced without moving your lips, are not used at the same time in the text. Of course, it is a miracle.

It should be noted that writing any work in English without using the letters "z", "x", "g" is not so difficult, but writing anything in this language without using the letters "a" and "e" is a difficult task. In both Azerbaijani and Turkish, it is difficult to write even a small work without the presence of "l" and "r" consonants, because the vast majority of words belonging to both languages contain "l" and "r" consonants. But this work is not impossible. Works created from words, which do not use the l and r consonants, are called "dildonmez" or "lebdeymez" in the Azerbaijani and Turkish languages. According to researchers, there is only one "dildonmez" poem in Azerbaijani and Turkish literature. It is associated with the name of Aşıq Ələskər [Ashug Alesker]. In fact, this "dildonmez" is erroneous. Now let's pay attention to the second and third stanzas of this poem:

Gözüm sağı, *səhər* çağı,	The right eye, early in early morning,
Geyək ağı, gəzək bağı.	Wearing white, walking in the garden.
Hamı sevib bu sayağı,	That's the way everyone likes to walk,
Qaymağa, həm yağa bax, bbax.	We'll look at the sour cream, and butter.
Əziz ayə, müəmmayə,	Dear, to the side of this secret,
Salsan sayə bu məvayə.	If you look carefully at this paradise.
Səbəb sənsən bu sevdayə,	The reason in this love is of course you,
Böyük ağa, sağa bax, bax! (Elçin, 1993: 39).	My darling, look to the right, and right.

As we can see, the letters "l" and "p" are used in the poem, which indicates the violation of the required conditions. Thus, we conclude that there are no poems of the "dildonmez" form in Azerbaijani and Turkish literature. In any case, this is true. Note that such poems occur only in the works of the author of these lines (Memmedov, 2022, p. 186).

But i wonder if "dildonmez" refers to other samples of folklore, such as our inexhaustible treasure proverbs? After all, most proverbs, characterized as "ready-made poems", are short poems. Our study shows that "dildonmez" is plentiful in Azerbaijani, Turkish and English proverbs. More than five hundred proverbs were included in the study, and it was noted that there are many "dildonmez" examples among them.

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1.1. EXAMPLES OF AZERBAIJANI "DILDONMEZ" PROVERBS:

- Asta get, amma usta get [Make haste slowly];
- Asta qaçana imam qənim [(To) put one's best foot (leg) foremost];
- Baxma deyənə, bax dediyinə [Don't look at what he says, look at what he does];
- Can de, can eşit [Give your soul, they will give soul];
- Cavaba, cavab [To serve with the same sauce];
- Əkməyən biçməz [No pain, no gain/ No pains, no gains/ No gains, without pains/ Nothing to be got without pains];
- Xoş sözdən kimsə doydum deməz [Meakness is not weakness];
- Kişi yıxdığını kəsməz [Never hit a man when he is down/ Don't strike a man when he is down];
- Nə yeni dosta, nə də köhnə düşmənə güvənməyin [Trust not a new friend nor an old enemy];
- Odda yanmaz, suda batmaz [Throw him into the Nile and he will come up with a fish in his mouth];
- Öz yağında bişmək, qaynamaq [(To) stew in one's juice];
- Sən mənə, mən də sənə [You roll my log and I'll roll yours];
- Sənə xoş, mənə də xoş [Fair field and no favour];
- Siçan tutmayan pişiyin nə faydası [Keep no more cats than will catch mice];
- Soğana baxıb göz yaşı axıtmaq [(To) weep over an onion];
- Yaxşının sədası yox, pisinsə söz-söhbəti çox [When I did well, I heard it never; when I did ill, I heard it ever];
- Yanan ocağa su tökmək [(To) cool one's heels];
- Zəhməti çox, qazancı az [A grain of wheat in a basket of chaff].

1.2. EXAMPLES OF TURKISH "DILDONMEZ" PROVERBS:

- Aç ayı oynamaz [An empty belly hears nobody];
- Az konuş, öz konuş [Deh ver your words not by number, but by weight];
- Can çıkmayınca huy çıkmaz [Change of habit cannot alter nature];
- Çox duyun, az konuşun [Hear much, speak little];
- Daz daznan yatdı, daz da naz atdı [A bald man slept with a bald woman, and she flirted];
- Dediğim gibi yap, yaptığımı yapma [Do as I say, not as I do];
- Dumanı çok, sıcağı yok [Great boast, small roast];
- Göze göz, dişe diş [An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth];
- Havada köşk inşa etmek [He builds castles in the air];
- Hocanın dediğini yap, yaptığını yapma [Discourse is silver; silence is gold];
- Kan suya dönüşmez [Blood changes not into water];
- Kendi yağını kendi başına yakmak [(To) treat somebody with a dose of his own medicine];

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- Koyundan vazgeçmektense yününden vazgeç [Better give the wool than the whole sheep];
- Sakınamayacaksan ok atma [Do not shoot an arrow which you can't ward off];
- Şimdiki güne hiç gün çatamaz [There is no time like the present/ No time like the present];
- Susuz kuyudan su çekmek [It is a bad well into which one must put water];
- Uyuyan kopegi uyatmayın [Let sleeping dogs lie/ It is ill to wake up sleeping dogs];
- Yemek için yaşama, yaşamak işin ye [Do not live to eat, but eat to live];

1.3. EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH "DILDONMEZ" PROVERBS:

- A good beginning makes a good ending;
- A man can die but once;
- A man is known by the company he keeps;
- A penny saved is a penny gained;
- A quiet baby gets no suck;
- A stich in time saves nine;
- Appetite comes with eating;
- As a man is so is his company;
- Confidence is the companion of success;
- Diamond cuts diamond;
- Dogs do not bite dogs;
- Easy come, easy go;
- Give a dog a bad name and hang him;
- Man make houses, women make homes;
- Many a fine dish has nothing on it;
- Money makes money;
- Out of sight, out of mind;
- So many men, so many minds;
- The best defense is offence;
- Time is money.

Thus, by the example of samples of models of Azerbaijani, Turkish and English proverbs and sayings "dildonmez", we are living witnesses of how high the artistry is, as if nothing is left out of stylistic control, and how unusual is the worldly folklore – the national wealth, uniting all indentification indicators into a coded system of thinking, that it is full of unsolved mysteries and new themes, which nobody has ever known. Of course, this also means that from the point of view of the modern system of thinking, folklore is an inseparable projection of national existence. In our opinion, there is no need to prove that the issue under study is literally a new development for folkloristics, a new model of approach, a new paradigm of thinking, a new mental and spiritual discourse, a new model of the world opening before us. Because, for the

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first time in the literature, the term "dildonmez" of the proverb indicates a new world. In essence, this world is our own world, our memory, the world of our national consciousness, our philosophy of ethnic wisdom, our national intellectual potential, our ethno-psychological potential, which we carry in the depth of our thought, but forget under the influence of the cosmic rhythm and aura of the new times. Of course, what has been said is very interesting in terms of presenting and correctly understanding the essence of the Azerbaijani, English and Turkish ethno-cultural thought system and thereby the laws of the world defined by phenomenological cognition. We believe that this article can also be considered a valuable contribution for those who appreciate the inexhaustible wisdom of proverbs.

2. "EVVEL-AKHIR" (beginning-end) PROVERBS

One of the common, rich and colorful types of Azerbaijani and Turkish literature are "evvel-akhir" works written in the form of poems. In such works, the lines begin with the same letter and end with the same letter. Such works of verse are sometimes called "literal" poetry. Although there is no strict prohibition, the beginning and end of a poem are usually built on consonantal sounds. But there are enough "evvel-akhir" poems that begin with vowels. Although "evvel-akhir" verses are most often recited at ashug gatherings (mejlis), it is not forbidden to read with the accompaniment of saz. The word begins with the consonant "n" and ends with the same consonant:

Nazlı yarım, heç doymaram bu səndən,	Sweetheart, I can't satiate enough of you,
Noğul-nabat şirin olmaz busəndən.	Lollipop is not sweeter than you.
Nökər Cüma çox çəkinər bu səndən,	The servant Juma is fearing of you,
Namərdlərin dilin vursun, baz ilan	The man having betroitor let serpent bite tim.

(Efendiyev, 2013: 289).

But are folklore examples in the form of "evvel-akhir" applicable to proverbs? Research shows that "evvel-akhir" is sufficient in Azerbaijani, Turkish and English proverbs.

2.1. MODELS OF AZERBAIJANI "EVVEL-AKHIR" PROVERBS:

- İt də getdi, ip də getdi [If you sell the cow, you sell her milk too];
- Kipriklərilə od götürmək [(To) take the chestnut out of the fire with the cat's paw];
- Korun arvadına nə bəzək-düzək [(A) blind man`s wife needs no paint];
- Korun bircə arzusu olar, o da heç olmazsa bir gözü ilə görmək [(A) blind manwould be glad to see];
- Köhnə hamama təzə nırx gətirmək [You cannot put an old head on young shoulders];
- Könlü balıq istəyənin quyruğu suda gərək [He who would eat the nut must first crack the shell/ For getting fish you mustn't mind diving for it/ Hewho

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would catch fish must notmind getting wet/ For getting fish never be afraid of wetting your feet];

- Qurtdalayıb qurdunu çıxartmaq [Let well (enough) alone/ Leave well alone/ Leave well enough alone];
- Mən varlı deyiləm ki, ucuz mal alım [(The) poor man pays for all (the poor must pay for all];
- Neylərəm qızıl taxtı, təki qızıl baxtım olsun [(An) ounce of luck is better thana pound of gold];
- Nə borc alan ol, nə borc verən [Neither a borrower nor a lender be];
- Nə əkərsən, onu da biçərsən [As a man sows, so shall he reap/ As you sow you shall mow];
- Nə qədər az danışsan, o qədər ağıllı sayılarsan [(A) still tongue makes a wise head/ A quiet tongue makes a wise head];
- Nə qədər çox bilsən, o qədər tez qocalarsan [Too much knowledge makes the head bald];
- Nöqsansız dost axtarsan, dostsuz qalarsan [You will never have a friend if you must have one without fault];
- Zurna-qaval olmasa, toy-düyün də olmaz [No longer pipe, no longer dance].

2.2. MODELS OF TURKISH "EVVEL-AKHIR" PROVERBS:

- Akşamın işini sabaha bırakma [Make hay while the sun shines];
- Ecel geldi cihana, baş ağrısı bahane [Death takes no denial];
- Kara para gibi sahibine kayıtmak [Back again, like a bad penny];
- Kaz gibi uyanık olmak [Be on one's guard];
- Kelbi iyi olmak [(To) wear one's heart upon one's sleeve];
- Kuruşu kuruşun üstüne koymak [(To) make both ends meet];
- Ne dostu seçende, ne de deyişende telesmeyin [Be slow in choosing a friend, slower in changing him];
- Eğri ağaca "yayım" deme, her gördüğüne "dayım" deme [Believe nothing of what you hear, and only half of what you see];
- Kiyamet gününe kalmak [(To) put off till Doomsday];
- Koyunu kurda emanet etmek [(To) set the wolf to keep the sheep];
- Kush'u gözünden vurmak [(To) hit the high sports];
- Ne iyidir, ne kötü, ne yağlıdır, ne yavan [Neither good no bad, middling well];
- Reng vermeyen iplige iyi demezler [It is an ill wool that will not take dye];
- Zehmet çekmeyen/çok çalışmayan bal yemez [He that will not work shall not eat/ (To) sing for one's supper];
- Zehmetsiz elde edilen kazancın bereketi olmaz [Light come, light go/ Lightly come, lightly go].

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2.3. MODELS OF ENGLISH "EVVEL-AKHIR" PROVERBS:

- Don't count your chickens before they are hatched;
- Don't whistle (halloo) until you are out of the wood;
- Draw not your bow till your arrow is fixed;
- Dry feet, warm head bring safe to bed;
- Near the death he stands that stands near a crown;
- Necessity is the mother of invention;
- Need makes the queen spin;
- Neither rhyme nor reason;
- Never hit a man when he is down;
- Never write what you dare not sign;
- New brooms sweep clean;
- Nothing new under the sun;
- Saying and doing are two things;
- Scornful dogs will eat dirty puddings;
- So many countries so many customs;
- So many countries, so many customs;
- So many men, so many minds;
- Standers-by see more than gamesters;
- Two wrongs don't make a right;
- To be in one's birthday suit;
- To find a mare's nest;
- To make both ends meet.

Thus, we observe a variety of examples of "evvel-akhir" forms that are part of our folklore. In our opinion, the question under study attracts attention from the point of view of cognition of many unwritten laws of the world.

3. "CHOKHYARPAG" (multi-leaved) PROVERBS

In the "chokhyarpag" poems, the lines are built on cross-rhymes with each other from beginning to end, and these conditions persist in all stanzas. Of course, it is very difficult to create such examples without a close acquaintance with the subtleties of the language and the richness of its vocabulary. Although "ikiyarpag"/"goshayarpag" (two-leaved/double-leaved) forms are found in the works of many master artists, "chokhyarpag" forms are found only in the works of Şamil Dəlidağ [Shamil Dalidag]. Both Azerbaijani and Turkish proverbs contain enough "chokhyarpag", especially "ikiyarpag" (two-leaved) and "uchyarpag" (three-leaved). In our opinion, this is interesting, as well as relevant in terms of the study of proverbs and sayings in a new way, in a new context. Let us pay attention to one sample of the poem "goshayarpag" by Aşıq Ələskər [Ashug Alesker]:

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Sallan qələm *qaşdı,* yanı *yoldaşdı,*	Go, fine eyebrow beauty, beside your spouse,
Qalmışam *ataşdı,* mən başı *daşdı.*	I felt myself in a fire, my head was very dizzy.
Huş başımdan *çaşdı,* dilim *dolaşdı,*	Thoughts flew out of my head, my tongue was slurred,
Gözlərim sataşdı, buxağa düşdü.	And my eyes cought sight of your chin.

As you can see, here the words "qaşdı" and "yoldaşdı", "ataşdı" and "daşdı", "çaşdı" and "dolaşdı" cross rhyme. These conditions persist until the end. Now let's turn our attention to one quatrain:

Gəl, sözü *ləl gözəl,* məndən üzmə *əl,*	Come to me, my beauty, don't leave me alone,
Olma *xar,* ver *qərar,* ol *həmkar, simsar.*	Don't be shy, make up your mind, be a friend.
Dəcəl, şətəl əməl, yaradar *xələt,*	Naughty, wicked deeds do harm,
Ol *vəfadar, naçar* qəlb *zar-zar ağlar.*	Be faithful, my poor heart weeps.

Here the words "gəl", "ləl", "gözəl" and "əl" cross rhyme with each other, and the number of such rhymes is four. in the second stanza, the words "xar", "qərar", "həmkar" and "simsar" rhyme, and this condition is observed in all lines and stanzas. The number of such rhymes in "üçyarpaq" verses is three, in "dördyarpaq" four, in "beşyarpaq" five, in "altıyarpaq" six.

Studies show that the semantically rich Azerbaijani, Turkish and English languages have enough "chokhyarpag" proverbs. Of course, this tells us that the poetic thinking, national social consciousness and psychology of the speakers of all three languages is very deep. Here we would like to draw attention to the richness of the Azerbaijani language. For example, the three-word expression "Üz yara sarı" [Uz yara sari] has no less and no more, exactly one hundred meanings. Of course, these things are still a mystery to the literary world and are not explained (in the futureI have in the plan and program to prepare such a work). It goes without saying that explaining each such statement is an interesting dissertation.

It should be noted that, speaking of the structural-analytical nature of proverbs, many researchers paid attention not to the meaning, but to the form, as in this research paper. In our opinion, this is also legitimate. Because the inability to fully analyze a fiction text with descriptive poetics is a well-known problem.in other words, there is no absolute analysis that reveals all the codes of any work. Thus, if all the codes of any artistic specimen are discovered, then development, and therefore life, will stop. In other words, as long as the world is alive, the secret codes of research will be revealed. Approaching this context, we propose to supplement the existing classification of proverbs with the following groups:

1. "Ikiyarpag" (two-leaved) proverbs (often called "goshayarpag": double leaved);
2. "Uchyarpag" (three-leaved) proverbs;
3. "Dordyarpag" (four-leaved) proverbs;
4. "Beshyarpag" (five-leaved) proverbs, etc.

There are enough "ikiyarpag" proverbs in Azerbaijani, Turkish and English folklore. But although there are "uchyarpag", "dordyarpag" and "beshyarpag"

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proverbs in Azerbaijani and Turkish folklore, we did not find such models of proverbs in English folklore. But this cannot be the case. Of course, this is a separate topic of research. Cross rhymes are highlighted in italics.

3.1. AZERBAIJANI "IKIYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- Adamı adam eyləyən *paradı,* parasız adamın üzü *qaradı* [Money makes a man/ Wealth makes the man/ Money makes the man];
- Adın nədir *İrəşid*, birini de, beşini *eşit* [Give every man thy ear, but fewthy voice/ Hear much, speak little];
- Ağa odda *yanmaz,* suda da *batmaz* [(The) Queen never dies];
- Ağası *çox,* nökəri *yox* [Too many chiefs, not enough indians];
- Ağası *gülüm,* başına *külüm* [As is the gardener, so is the garden];
- Axmaq axmağı *görər,* tez də onu tərif *edər* [One fool praises another];
- Al paxla, gül *paxla,* şeytan gəldi *torpaxla* [Soon learnt, soon forgotten/ Soon learn, soon forgotten];
- Arsıza *söz,* kümbəzə q*oz* [Like water off a duck's back/ (A) fine fellow indeed!];
- Az *aşım,* ağrımaz *başım* [(A) steel tongue makes a wise head];
- Bir balaca *boyu* var, dam dolusu *toyu* var [(A) little body often harbours a great soul/ Shallow streams (waters) make most din];
- *El* gücü, *sel* gücü [Many hands make light work/ More hands mean more work];
- Günəşi udsa da qara *buludlar,* yenə günəş adlı bir qüdrəti *var* [(The) Moonis a Moon whether it shines or notbv];
- Harda *aş*, orda *baş* [Where God builds a church, the devil will build a chapel];
- Saxla *samanı,* gələr *zamanı* [It`s no good throwing away dirty water until one`s got clean];
- Səhər *naxıra,* axşam *axura* [Go to bed with the lamb and rise with the lark].

3.2. TURKISH "IKIYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- Aba da bir, diba da bir *giyene*, güzel de bir, çirkin de bir *sevene* [Where love fails, we spy all faults];
- *Alimin* sefaleti, *alemin* sefaleti [Misery of the scholar, misery of the world];
- Allah *imhal* eder, *ihmal* etmez [God stays long, but strikes at last];
- Anlayana sivrisinek *saz*, anlamayana davul zurna *az* [A word to the wise is enough];
- *Az* konuş, *öz* konuş [Deh ver your words not by number, but by weight];
- Bir elin *nesi* var, iki elin *sesi* var [Many hands make light work];
- Cömertlik *fazilet*, cimrilik ise *rezalet* [Generosity is virtue and misery is vice];

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- *Dikensiz* gül olmaz, *engelsiz* yar olmaz [There is no garden without its weeds];
- Haydan gelen *huya* gider, selden gelen *suya* gider [Easy come, easy go];
- İt *ürür*, kervan *yürür* [The moon does not heed the barking of dogs];
- Nerde *hareket*, orda *bereket* [Business is the salt of life];
- Sabır *zafere*, sabırsızlık da *küfre* götürür [Patience leads to triumph, and impatience to blasphemy];
- Sana vereyim bir *öğüt*, kendi ununu kendin *üğüt* [If you want a thing well done, do it yourself];
- Sevgi *üzel*, nefret *genel* [Love is particular, hatred is general];
- *Sona* kalan, *dona* kalır [First come, first served].

3.3. ENGLISH "IKIYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- A fault *confessed* is half *redressed*;
- A friend *in need* is a friend *indeed*;
- A good *beginning* makes a good *ending*;
- A little *pot* is soon *hot;*
- A man of words and not *of deeds* is like a garden full *of weeds*;
- After dinner sit *a while,* after supper walk *a mile*;
- An hour is *the morning* is worth two in *the evening*;
- As you *saw*, you shall *mow*;
- Eat at *pleasure,* drink with *measure*;
- Fast *bind*, fast *find*;
- *Forewarned, forearmed*;
- Harm *watch,* harm *catch*;
- Keen eyes are small *gain* in the head without *brain*;
- Man *make houses,* women *make homes*;
- Money spent on *the brain* is never spent *in vain*;
- No bees *no honey*, no work *no money*;
- Some *are wise* and some *are otherwise*;
- The proof of the *pudding* is in the *eating*;
- What can't be *cured,* must be *endured*;
- To know *everything* is to know *nothing.*

3.4. AZERBAIJANI" UCHYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- *Aftan* olsun, *oftan* olsun, təki oğlana *qaftan* olsun [Catch not at the shadow and lose the substance];
- Alaq otu nə *əkilər,* nə də *səpilər,* özü artıb *törəyər* [A weed is neither planted nor sown, it grows and reproduces];
- Ağ *ərik*, sarı ərik, *dərərik, görərik* [White apricot, yellow apricot, we will cut it, we will see];

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- Aparanda *el* aparar, *yel* aparar, *sel* aparar [When carried away, the land carries away, the wind carries away, the flood carries away];
- Atdım göyə *fındığı,* nəyimə lazım nə *qaldığı,* nə *sındığı* [I threw a hazelnut into the sky, I don't care if it's broken or left intact];
- *Baş* kəsənin, *yaş* kəsənin, *daş* kəsənin axırı olmaz [There is no end to the beheading, the age-cutting, the stone-cutting].

3.5. TURKISH "UCHYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- Allah verirse el getirir, sel getirir, yel getirir [When carried away, the land carries away, the wind carries away, the flood carries away];
- Alli yelek, pullu *yelek, gomlek* yok, canfes neye *gerek?* [Red vest, sequin embroidered vest, no shirt, canfels, what more do you need?];
- Armudu *sapıyla*, üzümü *çöpüyle*, pekmezi *küpüyle* [A pear is recognized by its stem and a grape by its whorl];
- Buyurmadan tutan *evlat,* gun dogmadan kalkan *avrat,* deh demeden yuruyen *at* [The child who does not listen to words, the woman who getsup before sunrise, the horse who walks without fear];
- Besledik büyüttük *danayı*, şimdi tanımaz oldu *anayı*, *babayı* [Have nursed and raised the calf, and now it does not recognize its mother and father];
- Varsa *pulun,* herkes *kulun,* yoksa pulun, dardır *yolun* [If you have money, the whole world is yours];
- Yaman komşu, yaman *avrat,* yaman *at*, birinden göç, birin boşa, birin *sat* [Better a finger off than aye wagging].

3.6. AZERBAIJANI "DORDYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- Alma arvadın *dulunu,* dalıynan gələr *qulunu,* satar soyar *pulunu*, ayrı qoyar *malını* [Don't marry a widow, her newborn will follow her, will sell and steal your money, and separate your property];
- Dərdi kim *çəkər-kəməsər*, söyüşü kim *deyər-eybəcər* [Whoever takes pain is a bad person, and whoever curses is ugly].

3.7. TURKISH "DORDYARPAG" PROVERBS:

- Erken kalkmayan *avrat*, söz dinlemeyen *evlat*, mahmuzla gitmeyen *at*, kapında varsa kaldır *at* [The wife who does not get up early, the son who does not obey, the horse that does not go with a spur; If you have it at your door, remove it and throw it away].

It should be noted that "goshayarpag" proverbs with the same structure and the same meaning are numerous in the Azerbaijani-Turkish-English languages. Let us focus on some examples:

- Dəymə *mənə*, dəyməyim *sənə* (azeri),
  Vurma *bana*, vurmayım *sana* (türk),
  Don't trouble trouble until trouble troubles you (english);

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- Gərək *əkəsən,* sonra da *biçəsən* (azeri),
  Gerek *ekesen,* sonra da *biçesen* (türk),
  [*No pain, no gain/ No pains, no gains/ No gains,* without *pains*] (english);
- Nahardan sonra *istirahət*, şamdan sonrasa *hərəkət* (azeri),
  Nahardan sonra e*lleş,* şamdan sonra e*yleş* (türk),
  [After dinner rest *a while,* after supper walk *a mile*/ After dinner sit *a while*, after supper walk *a mile*] (english);
- Tapdın *sənindir,* tapmadın *özgənindir* (azeri),
  Bulsan *senindir,* bulmasan özge *birisinindir* (türk),
  [Finders *keepers*, losers *weepers*] (english).
- *Tərifi* çox, *təltifi* az (azeri),
  Terifi çok, teltifi yok (türk),
  [Great *boast*, small *roast*] (english);
- Ürək *istəyər,* dil də *deyər* (azeri),
  Kalp ne *ister,* dil de onu *diyer* (türk),
  [What the heart *thinks* the tongue *speaks*] (english).

CONCLUSION

Thus, when approaching the problem from the point of view of the principles of folklore poetics, the historical landscape of proverbs and sayings, its genre features, artistic and aesthetic function and, as a consequence, the national-spiritual, artistic thinking and historical-cultural thinking of folk-spiritual, artistic thinking and historical-cultural thinking of peoples, which is seen by how many new problems arise from the research. The result of the research is that in the internal semantics of proverbs inexhaustible stylistic wealth is hidden, which is a reliable foundation, a powerful base for beautiful and unexpected artistic and aesthetic discoveries, stylistic findings. In this sense, the task is to do more serious work and systematize proverbs in terms of ideological-compositional, volume-rhythmic/poetic, linguistic, their study from ethno-cultural and ethno-psychological aspects, as well as the study of the complex of these aspects as philosophical concepts. Because, such poetic models, which are the most important code of the national-energetic system of thinking and ethno-cosmic code of behavior, linking ethno-cultural memory with its roots and ancient historical origins, increase the creative activity of people, it is important in enriching their spirituality and artistic thinking, in understanding the phenomenological essence of the world and in understanding its regularities determined by phenomenological cognition. In approaching all of the above from the point of view of the modern system of thinking, the new models of "dildonmez", "evvel-akhir" and "chokhyarpag" approach of Azerbaijani, Turkish and English proverbs should be systematically studied and brought to the younger generations. Because today the world needs more intellectual weapons, and this is the need of the hour.

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PERSONAL EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES AT THE CROSSROAD OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

HİCRAN KARATAŞ

ABSTRACT

Archaeological heritage of Turkey has been suffering for ages from severe destruction through the activities of local antiquities looters. The main reasons for this escalating phenomenon among the Turkish population include poverty, enhanced global demand for looted archaeological material in the worldwide market, gaps in laws, folklore, and the addiction to adrenalin experienced by looters. To comprehend the ongoing archaeological destruction caused by looters in Turkey, we need to be willing to investigate their folklore formed in the framework of illicit looting. Even though Turkish law strictly states looting as a crime, Anatolian-Turkish folklore, including oral tradition, does not condemn looters even as deviants. Hence, folklore must be listed as one of the significant excuses why Anatolian archaeological heritage keeps being looted. In recent decades, the destruction of archaeological sites of Anatolia and the loss of cultural heritage have entered a dangerous phase due to local looters having access to technological devices, software, and international connections, as well as folkloric spiritual, ritualistic guidance. My research aims to understand how and under which circumstances looters become looters in the first place.

Keywords: Turkey, cultural heritage, folklore, antiquities looters, personal experience narratives.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology and folklore use different lenses to attach meaning to the past. Folklorists take the past as a given and describe and explain change; or take change as a given and describe and explain that which perseveres (Oring 2012, 224). This past is created by people who have used objects, built landscapes, and invented rituals and traditions which reflect their ethos. Hence it is crucial to understand the material remains, rituals, and traditions of the people of the past and to interpret these within their contexts, whether in the form of folklore or archeology. At times, folklore provides a rational interpretation for materials and whether they can prove uninterrupted continuity of transmission.

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Moreover, folklore promises some later interpretations of historical sites. Contemporary folklore presents attitudes toward various aspects of cultural heritage protection and preservation, as the two disciplines were formed with common motivations. Folklore was proposed to define the latter forms of old antiquities (Thomas 1846, 862). In the past, folklore was commonly understood as comparing and identifying remnants of archaic beliefs and customs in modern-age traditions. It was attributed to less cultured people (Gomme 1890, 3). Therefore, this relatively limited definition of folklore referred solely to illiterate peasants who were able to store and transmit their folklore via face-to-face interaction. The ability to write and cultural transmission functioned as critical criteria in deciding whose folklore was worth being studied for a long time (Newell 1891). The definition of folklore included communicative, aesthetic, and performative aspects of life. Dundes defined folk broadly as any group of people who shared at least one common factor and added that we are all folk in the presence of others (Dundes 1977). Hence, folklorists started to study oral traditions such as legends, tales and proverbs, rituals, social norms, and beliefs connected to the past and present.

Folklorists and archaeologists view all tangible and intangible deeds of human beings as fast-disappearing relics of the past (Bascom 1953; Dorson 1970; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999). Lore refers to past knowledge of a society that has inadvertently survived but is in danger of dying out (Ben-Amos 1984, 104). The goal of archaeology is not to reconstruct the one actual past, but to develop rich and sensitive interpretations, to make the past intelligible in the present. Many such interpretations and understandings of the past are therefore possible. Both folklorists and archaeologists record their findings as comprehensively as they can, knowing that their records will likely be all that future generations will have (Gazin-Schwartz and Hortorf 1999, 5-6).

Folklore gives researchers a more expansive, interdisciplinary space where they can explore, analyze and interpret daily life about a particular archeological object. Numerous studies have emphasized the importance and value of folklore in understanding a specific group, society, and phenomenon (Merrifield 1987; Renfrew 1994; Gilchrist 2008; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999; Gazin-Schwartz 2001; Layton 1999; Shankland 1999; Matsuda 1998; Gündüz 2001). Even though what archaeological objects mean or still mean to people in their daily lives can be interpreted in different ways, anthropologists, folklorists, and archaeologists share a common concern that the archaeological heritage of nations faces severe destruction due to the activities of local antiquities looters. The potential and irreversible loss of valuable cultural and historical information that may be used to trace the history of humanity brings the two disciplines together to understand why looters turn their backs on their cultural heritage. The results of this study suggest that ethnoarchaeological fieldwork enables us to explore the social, cultural, economic, and political reasons behind illicit looting. Knowing why and how antiquity looters pursue their activity is a first step that may help communities to

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take measures to stop it. Interviews with antiquities looters provide archaeologists with essential and multifaceted information, including the motivations, dimensions, and methods behind the looting and vandalizing of archaeological sites and the prevalence of antiquities looting at local and global levels. This study has also shown that a lack of cultural heritage awareness stems from folklore, re-interpretation of hadiths, and cultural codes which tolerate ongoing illicit looting. Turkish looters have little understanding of the value of their cultural heritage rooted in Prehistoric times. This is a significant problem that national and global archaeological heritage protection and preservation programs must deal with.

METHODS AND DATA

Conducting fieldwork in three cities in the Black Sea Region of Turkey, known as Paphlagonia, in the past, I was able to work among active looters between June 2017 and September 2017. A retired looter and mentor, Muslim, introduced me to the looters who were working in groups of six to eight. I aimed to understand the motivations and dimensions of antiquities looting and to draw an ethnographic picture of how this very phenomenon has been able to continue despite penal codes. Thanks to being introduced to the looters by one of their most respected mentors, I interviewed 68 active and 23 retired members of the looter community by assuring them anonymity both in audio recordings and written records. All respondents' real names were exchanged with pseudonyms, which are common Turkish male names to protect the privacy and security of informants as a critical ethical responsibility for the research (Hick 1977; Amstrong 1993; Guenther 2009; McCormack *et al.* 1, 2012; Svalastog and Eriksson 2010; Brear 2018). The interviews conducted during fieldwork were unstructured to allow topics relevant to the different dimensions of the study to surface unexpectedly. I have to say that this preference became helpful in the field as each interview brought new questions to ask the next informant and redirected me to previous ones to fill specific gaps. The questions asked during the interviews were categorized into four groups: Personal information; extent and type of participation in illegal excavations; methods and knowledge used and gained during their practices; and feelings, thoughts, and attitudes about unlawful digging. The questions in the personal information category related to how looters started for the first time were replied to with personal experience narratives. These personal experience narratives focusing on the first illicit excavations reflect the motivations of looters who had gained so much field experience during the interviews. Even though Turkey's illegal excavations have previously been related to poverty in prior studies, I must say that all informants in the present study, including retired looters, had regular income, and their motivation to loot was not even remotely related to poverty (Özdoğan 2005, 111-123; Özel and Karadayı 1998, 1-14; Özgen 2001, 119-120; Rose and Acar 1995; Lawrence and Main 1995, 150-160; Brodie 2002, 2-3; Atwood 2004, 144). This false assumption is likely

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caused by the inadequacy of ethnographic and qualitative studies conducted among treasure hunters in Turkey. Both folklorists and anthropologists are reluctant to perform field work on criminal groups.

Enthusiastic researchers, on the other hand, must be willing to face difficulties while working on the fine line between crimefighting teams and criminals (Inciardi 1993; Burgois 1989; Amstrong 1993; Small 1983; Humphreys 1970; Scarce 1994; Källman and Korsell, 2009; Şenesen 2016; Yolcu and Karakaya 2017; Uysal 1974; 1983; 1985). However, the tendency of folklorists to gravitate towards marginal or otherwise overlooked social groups is valuable precisely because sociological understanding cannot rest solely on the grasp of the mainstream (Oring 2012: xvii). Instead of judging looters and other criminal groups, we should try to understand them, as knowing the structure of a problem is also the key to solving it. Studies show that plundering archaeological heritage dates to ancient times, and its motivations and structures vary from culture to culture (Wobst 2013; Weihe 1995; Vitelli 1996; Özdoğan 2002; Al-Houdalieh 2012). Studies also show that looters' motivations, strategies, and methods to deal with the guilt are affected by the culture in which they work (Kimberly 2012; Barker 2018; Bauer 2015; Campbell 2013; Matsuda 1998; Karataş 2021).

The age of the active looters in this study ranged from 19 to 49, and all were trained in traditional occupations such as carpentry, turnery, and foundry, which gave them qualifications and experience to use in excavations that require operating hoists, pulleys, forklifts, and in one case even dynamite. Four retired looters mentored active ones as they had a lot of field experience. The personal experience narratives of the former members of the looter community included methods, knowledge, and strategies. These narratives also reflected how and why they became looters and their motivation when they started.

CULTURAL AND FOLKLORIC EXCUSES FOR LOOTING

Turkey's archaeological loss through illicit excavations has been reported in several studies, in which inadequacy of law enforcement and poverty have been introduced as main causes of the problem (Özdoğan 2005, 111-123; Özel and Karadayı 1998, 1-14; Özgen 2001, 119-120; Rose and Acar 1995; Lawrence and Main 1995, 150-160; Brodie 2002, 2-3; Atwood 2004, 144). Few have emphasized the impacts of culture and folklore on cultural heritage protection and preservation (Matsuda 1998; Moses 2015; Bauer 2015; Al-Houdalieh 2012a, 2012b, 2012c; Atwood 2004; Shapiro 1994; Karataş 2021).

In the case of Turkey, culture and folklore supply an eligible environment where looters perform illicit activities without feeling any guilt and being socially labeled as criminals. First, social actors not involved in looting do not view looters as criminals as their activity does not harm the innocent and the society directly. Non-intellectual informants stated that looters are not as dangerous as other criminals such as rapists, murderers, and thieves. Most of them were not aware that

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looters were plundering their and future generation's cultural heritage. They simply made fun of looters with nicknames such as gravediggers, grave engineers, sappers, and contractors. As the looters interviewed had fulltime jobs in respected traditional occupations, they knew that these tags only referred to their night work, so they did not seem to care. The second reason why people do not label looters as criminals is related to their labor which is viewed as sacred. Informants not involved in looting stated that looters were being exploited by high level agents in organized antiquities trafficking who are the real criminals to be accused. Indeed, looters earn only one to five percent of the final sale in the network of antiquities trafficking (Shapiro 1994; Kimberly 2012; Rose 1993; Thorasarat 2001; Durney 2013). Folk beliefs such as luck, destiny and sharing encourage looters to believe that they only follow their fate which has been already written. All the stress experienced before, during, and after excavations are eased by attributing all possibilities to destiny, luck, and sharing. Most of the informants stated that luck is at the very center of the activity, and they just push it to the edge. One of the active looters, Ergül stated: "We take all sorts of precautions by having hojas by our side, not entering into the site without ablution, keeping it clean. However, if someone among us is to get sick or struck by jinn, it will happen anyway". The notions of luck, destiny and sharing and their relation to the treasures are often reported in cross-cultural studies, showing that looting is mostly related to the notion of luck. Luck promises looters that digging at the right place and time can make them rich overnight (Al-Shamy 2005; Foster 1964; Coldwell 1977; Moses 2015; Shuzhong 2001). Narratives, tales, and legends handed down through generations guarantee that once upon time people lived in Anatolia who got rich overnight, and looters can do it too if they are lucky. During my fieldwork, I personally witnessed looters console themselves by telling narratives of a distant past when heroes were tested over and over again before they were awarded with treasures. Indeed, the strongest motivation of ongoing antiquities looting in Turkey is the treasure narrative that real persons turned into heroes over time. Theoretically this perception is acceptable since personal experience narratives told through generations tend to be anonymized and become legends. Indeed, all personal experience narratives, particularly ones with supernatural components, might eventually turn into legends (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1974, 239).

TREASURE NARRATIVES IN ANATOLIAN-TURKISH FOLKLORE

Finding buried treasure is one of the oldest and most common motifs in oral tradition worldwide, and folk heroes are expected to discover buried or hidden treasures. Treasure tales are short historical accounts that deal with people who lived in distant or recent past, in local places as well known by locals. Supernatural spirits, such as ghosts, devils, and jinn, accompany or protect buried treasures that wait for the prospectus owner. Treasure narratives promise people that only those with a pure heart and intention are awarded treasures (Foster 1964; El-Shamy

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2005; Ernst and Garry 2005; Hurley 1951; Foster 1964; Uysal 1974, 1983, 1985; Yolcu and Karakaya 2017; Rose 2019; Boratav 2013; Alangu 1990).

Treasure narratives in Anatolian Turkish oral tradition warn looters about the dangerous aspects of searching for treasures, but also encourage them to look for treasures constantly and patiently. Turkish buried treasure narratives include golden, silver coins or jewel deposits located in wells, mills, caves, landscapes, or under a certain tree. Traditional treasure narratives do not mention other archaeological objects, such as statues. The narratives introduce valuable materials that can be melted and sold in the market as soon as they are discovered. Therefore, proto forms of personal experience narratives do not contain archaeological assets that are not gold or silver, as the value of historical artifacts that cannot be converted into money by melting was only discovered after World War II. Studies on the history of illicit antiquity looting show that the priceless sentimental value of archaeological objects has been understood (Simmel 2004, 73-76; Addyman 2001, 141-144; Ali and Coningham 2001, 25-31; Alva 2001, 89-96; Bisheh 2001, 115; Gilgan 2001, 73-87; Hadjisavvas 2001, 133-136; Källman and Korsell 2009, 101-103; Marthari 2001, 161-172; Pastore 2001, 155-160; Shankar 2001, 33-36; Shuzhong 2001, 19-24; Thosarat 2001, 7-17).

Five main characteristics emerge when comparing treasure narratives to the personal experience narratives of looters. First, the narratives are based on simple historic events. Migrations, wars, riots, international affairs, and domestic governing events are used to explain who buried treasures, and how and why they buried them. Second, their plots have two parts. In the first part, the treasure is hidden or buried for some reason, followed by the search in the next part. Third, most treasures are protected by charms activated by their original owners or protected by jinn. Fourth, treasures are classified into three categories of hidden treasures: normal ones, "trap" treasures that ambush people to harm them, and those seized by jinn. Last, narratives usually end with the treasure being found after constant hard work.

Treasure stories are presented as historical facts amounting almost to a documentary of actual treasure being rediscovered. To do so, they link to Turkey's rich history. In these stories, Hittites, Phrygians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks, Ottomans, and Non-Muslim minorities are shown as the original owners of treasures. Most narratives have supernatural creatures, jinn, who protect these treasures, and are familiar to the current settlers of the land. Hence, the effect of a supernatural element does not destroy the credibility of the narrative. Having collected seventy-five personal experience narratives from the looters, I can testify that the narratives of today have common elements with traditional narratives, which were in the form of legend, tale, and memorat. Narratives of current looters reflect real-life experiences, which can mostly be proved through witnesses and/or news. These narratives have several supernatural motifs, such as Elija (Hızır), dream, and jinn that are already respected in Turkish social life. Methods, risk

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rituals and attitudes toward archaeological heritage are woven together in personal narratives that alone mirror the cultural reasons of ongoing antiquities looting in Turkey. At this point, I must say that the looters interviewed were unaware of the gradual disappearance of archaeological resources because they believed Anatolia is full of gold and silver. Even though they claimed they were patriotic, they did not consider their activity treason. This was ironic as penal codes label looters and smugglers as criminals who commit a crime against the Turkish state.

The archaeology community in Turkey and elsewhere battle against looting objects from archaeological sites (Barker 2018; Al-Houdalieh 2012a, 2012b; Bowman 2008; Brodie and Renfrew 2005; Byrne 2016; Elia 1997; Gates 1997; Matsuda 1998). Raising local awareness about archaeological heritage protection and preservation requires strategies beyond penal codes that seem ineffective. Numerous cross-cultural studies on the effectiveness of legal and regulatory systems have already declared them insufficient (Atwood 2004, 170; Shapiro 1994, 293; Bator 1982, 312; Weihe 1995, 84-90; Özgen 2001, 120; Rose and Acar 1995, 46-50; Brodie 2002, 4-19; Al-Houdalieh 2012b, 25). In Turkey, penal codes related to antiquities looting have been effective since 1874, and were updated in 1983, imposing six months to five years imprisonment plus a fine (Çal 1997, 392; Özel and Karadayı 1998, 1-14; Shaw 2003, 108-130, Law 2863).

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES OF LOOTERS: "HOW I BECAME A LOOTER!"

Being one of the most significant source countries of cultural property makes Turkey highly vulnerable to looting and smuggling. Turkey's law for the prevention of looting and stealing cultural property (No. 2863) emphasizes that any above or underground and undersea cultural property is state property regardless of whether the object or archaeological site has been discovered. It also states that any person or group that finds or knows the existence of such property must notify the authorities, which must then be reported to the Ministry and regional museum directors. The department of anti-smuggling and organized crime (KOM) within the Turkish National Police and Gendarmerie General Command is entitled to perform operations and develop prevention strategies within the state's borders. Considering that 52,969 archaeological objects were captured during police and gendarmerie operations performed in 2019, it is evident that looters continue their illicit excavations despite the law (KOM 2020). This reckless looter attitude was also the starting point of my research. I aimed to understand how and why they would go on their illicit activities by putting their freedom at risk and how they started to loot in the first place. Hence, one of my questions in the interviews was "how did you start to join illicit excavations?"

As poverty and inadequacy of law enforcement have been listed as the causes of ongoing antiquity looting in Turkey, I wanted to test this assumption. To do this, I focused on their personal experience stories around their first engagement with looting activity. These narratives reflect their motivation beyond poverty, the

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inadequacy of law enforcement, and the gap in-laws. Personal experience stories, in this very sense, are narrative creations of the person who owns the experience. The unique understanding of the storyteller makes the story worthy of listening to and believable. It is possible to check personal experience stories through witnesses and news. I observed that many of the stories collected in my fieldwork had credibility, as many were reported in local newspapers. Stahl defined personal experience stories as first-person narratives usually composed orally by the tellers and based on actual incidents in their lives (1986, 269). The experience's uniqueness makes it story-worthy and transferrable from mouth to mouth. She adds that a personal experience story tends to become increasingly polished in form and style as the teller repeats it in varying contexts. Dégh and Vázsonyi suggested that context is key to defining whether a narrative is a personal experience story or a legend told in a first-person format (1974). This is because several folklore genres share the main characteristics of unique experiences such as form, style, motifs, and function. Legends, memorates, anecdotes, and even jokes share standard content, context, and forms (Honko 1965; Dégh and Vázsonyi 1971; Sthal 1977).

Regarding the personal experience stories of active antiquity looters, the most distinctive features of the genre are content and format. Looters who claim to have contact with jinn to pinpoint the specific location of antiquities buried or hidden tell their testimonials supporting and proving the validity of established faith in the existence of the jinn. These personal narratives fit well with the term *memorate* (coined in 1934 by C.W. von Sydow), which has been accepted to identify personal accounts of experiences with the supernatural. Stahl subdivided personal experience narratives emphasizing content spirituality into memorate and personal stories (1986). Looters' personal experience stories are repeated to describe the cases experienced in the field. These narratives serve as guidance for newcomers and existing looter community members. They are even posted on Facebook group pages to let the community hear about what recently happened in the field. Knowledge of antiquity looting, including its methods, news, magic, tools, networks, and prospective places where antiquities may be buried, is schooled with personal experience narratives.

Furthermore, modifications in antiquity looters' folklore can be traceable through these narratives. To illustrate, stories of treasure hunters in two different sources written respectively in the 14th and 17th centuries showed that looters' motifs, components, and techniques have hardly changed over time (Kahraman and Dağlı 2006, 88-97; Ibn-i Haldun 1996, 331-336). Petitions given by people who wanted to be granted the license to excavate to search for treasures in the 18th century reflect the typical motifs of recent personal experience narratives of looters. Applicants wrote these petitions due to being granted a license described dreams, Elijah, Jinn, and other magical components such as charms, talismans, witchcraft recipes, and prospective signs indicating the exact place of treasures. They were basically written as personal experience narratives in which experiences belonged to the applicants or their close relatives (Kocaoğlu 2021; Karataş 2021).

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All my informants had regular day jobs or lived on their pensions by which they could make it to the end of the month. Even though they were not involved in illicit looting because of poverty, they asserted that their formal occupations did not promise a wealthy life which they hoped to achieve by pursuing their secondary work. Looters interviewed could be classified into two groups regarding their experience in illicit antiquity looting. The first group was influenced by the excitement that criminal activity provided. Thirty-two informants stated that they grew up listening to treasure narratives and playing treasure-hunting games in caves, hills, and construction sites. When they were teenagers, they went to deserted areas where treasures were believed to be buried. Adem referred to his childhood as follows:

When I was nine or maybe ten years old, I used to go to the caves near our neighborhood with my friends who are now working with me. I used to take my mother's little mattock with me, and search for ruins. First, I found bones that belonged to animals; then I started to find coins which made me so happy and excited. Then I couldn't stop.

Most of the looters interviewed were primary school graduates who then trained as apprentices in blue-collar jobs. As many of their masters had illicit antiquity looting experience, this master-apprentice relationship trained the young in their formal occupations and side hustle. When mentioning how personal narratives of prior looters affect future ones, some participants said that listening to stories had been their strongest motivation to become a looter. Erdem, a 34-year-old turner at his repair shop, stated:

When I was an apprentice to my master, other masters and mine told fascinating field experiences. I willingly eavesdropped. Then my peers in other repair shops and I told each other these stories over and over. We were twelve or thirteen years old back then. I said these stories not only to them but also to my close friends in my neighborhood. My team includes two from that first group and three from the second. Now we tell our own stories that personally happened to us.

One of the informants, Asım, worked in a restaurant where masters used to have lunch. During their time in the restaurant, Asım happened to listen to their personal experience narratives relating to illicit antiquity looting. Then, he quit his job at the restaurant and applied to be an apprentice for one of these masters. Asım referred to his first encounter with the master as destiny that he was supposed to follow:

I worked in a restaurant where masters in the industrial estate came to have lunch. While serving the customers, I also listened to their stories. Other waiters didn't care to listen to them. It was only I who was interested in listening. Then I followed one of the masters to his repair shop and asked if he could take me as his apprentice. I wasn't the only one who got pulled in by listening to stories. Afterwards, I came to know friends with whom we started to go digging.

Motifs in personal narratives of active looters are affected by prior narratives as well. Supernatural elements are the most visible motifs to point this affection. Dream, Elija (Hızır) and Jinn introduced in personal experience narratives of

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looters are common supernatural elements throughout Muslim looter communities. Ethnographic studies conducted on looters show that these motifs are mostly effective in the process of being looter and searching for the exact place of antiquities (Al-Houdalieh 2012; Ibn-i Haldun 1996; Kocaoğlu 2021; Savran 1997; Şenesen 2016; Uysal 1974, 1983, 1985; Yocu and Karakaya 2017). Looters stated that they started antiquity looting after meeting Elijah in person or in a dream, and were promised to be awarded for their good deeds. One of the informants, Levent, claimed that Elijah tested him in person, and then visited him in his dream to show the place of a treasure:

"I have a garden outside of the town. I was secretly saving money to build a well. Before I went to the Friday prayer, I withdrew the money. After the prayer, I walked through the bazaar. Hızır caught up with me touching my arm. He told me to give him one fourth of my money by mentioning the exact amount in my pocket. He was holding a sick kitten in his arms. He said the money was its' share, I had to use this money to save this kitten. I was scared when I saw his eyes which weren't alive. I immediately gave the money that he asked for. I had to postpone my plans. I then had a dream at night where I saw him holding the same cat. He took me to a house. He told me to look for this place and added that my share was buried in the garden of this house. I found the house and it was deserted. I gathered my friends to dig the place. As soon as we entered the garden we fell into sleep. Hızır didn't tell me how to extract the treasure, so I was supposed to get over this problem all by myself. I consulted hojas who told me to find the grave of the owner of the house and take some soil from the grave to the garden. I did what they advised. It took four months to come up with the solution. I found old books in a laced wooden box."

Elija as a figure of the old prophet filled with wisdom is the archetypical actor who offers friendship, guidance, consolation, good news, and teaching in cross-cultural myths (Jung 1989). His mythical functions can be observed in experiences of looters encountered with Elijah. Eight of my informants claimed that meeting with Elijah, regardless of the type of interaction, kept their hope high feeling that they are special, chosen, and tested. The first encounter with Elijah was regarded as a sign that they would be awarded with a treasure if only they pursue to follow the path that Elijah showed or advised. Two looters stated that they couldn't give up looting even though they didn't find any valuable archaeological asset because they encountered Elijah. They believed that all their failures were tests of Elijah, and they will be awarded with a gift at some prospective test. Elijah and dream motifs in looters' personal experience narratives function in similar ways that are seen as sacred. Compared to Elijah, the dream motif is accompanied with doubt as looters are already too involved in antiquity looting activities. They are aware that their subconscious is busy with treasures. When I asked them how they made sure whether their dream was a guide dream, most informants replied my question by focusing on the structure of the dream, and their feeling about it. To illustrate, I would like to present the dream of Ercan who lives in one of the historic houses of Safranbolu and owns his own business. He comes from a rich local family and goes illicit digging to search for a certain lock that his late mother gave him in his dream.

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"Two years after I started to work as an apprentice, I had a dream in which my mother was still alive. She was wearing a white prayer scarf just like when she was alive. She performed her prayer, then she laid food for me. She brought a loaf of bread wrapped in a white muslin cloth. She gave me a little old lock. It was locked. I asked her where the key was. She pointed to the bread loaf without saying anything. I woke up just as I was about to break the bread in half. When I had this dream, I was seventeen years old. My friends were going to digging but I wasn't involved in looting back then. After this dream, I started to go digging with them to search for this very lock. I am excited to find it as I go deeper in every excavation. I would be ecstatic to find it. I just can't stop searching."

The credibility of a dream is estimated with criteria including feelings, cleanliness of the dreamer, and the figures being seen in the dream. I am told that qualifications of cleanliness of the dreamer refers to ritual purification which can be achieved by purification ritual (ghusul). Looters interviewed were Sunni male adherents, and for them purification ritual is broken only after sexual intercourse or ejaculation (Sabiq 2012, 49-52). Respondents telling their dreams were adding explanation about their state of cleanliness by adding details such as "Before I went to bed, I performed salaah", "I just performed wudu before I slept". Credibility of the dream motif in personal experience narratives is strengthened by these details, so the listeners of the narratives are freed from doubt. These motifs are also effective to ease guilt on the part of active illicit antiquity looters by making them believe that they are chosen and guided by supernatural forces.

Personal experience narratives reflecting how looters became a member of looter groups mirrored the hierarchy of group structure as well. Looters that were interviewed worked in groups of six to eight, and their group structure had hierarchic characteristics. Duties and responsibilities of each member were well-defined, and altruism in group dynamics was tested by false tasks. A prospective member of the group would be tested with fake tasks, such as digging in fake excavation sites, being given so-called dangerous tasks, and being given false secrets of groups. Personal experience narratives of a first excavation in search of archaeological objects are accompanied with tests that check members' strength, intelligence and reliability. All respondents, retired and active ones, told their first excavation experience stories including their test that led them into the groups. Indeed, test rituals are common in criminal groups as the freedom and security of group members depend on the reliability of one another (Campbell 1984, 25; Spergel 1995, 91; Hagedorn 1988, 90; Jankowski 1988, 132: Keiser 1969, 21). The reliability tests of looters are adopted from the master-apprentice acculturation process in which masters test them over and over before they trust them. Ayhan, Salami and other informants summarized the process with these words:

"He must be young, clever, strong, reckless, trustworthy, discreet, and quick. Not only our freedom but also our lives depend on each other. When your pickaxe touches a hard object in the pit, you want it for yourself. It is in the nature of the job. The devil stands behind the looter during the excavation. When you find something, he starts to whisper in your ears. You have to trust both your self-control and others'. That is why anyone

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intended to join the group must be tested. When I joined the group, my master tested me by giving me a task. He gave me a box to hide for a while. I hid it in the coop. it stayed there for a week and half. Then he asked me to bring it back. When I brought it back, he checked if I opened it. Off course I hadn't. The night of the event, they took me to a real excavation."

All groups serve two functions: to complete group projects and to fulfill member needs. Group projects vary in the opportunities for, and requirements imposed on members. They pursue their functions by creating and enacting a coordinated pattern of member-task-tool relationships that are called the coordination network (McGrath, Arrow and Berdahl 2000, 98). The networks of looting groups are based on friendship of members, division of labor, tasks, and roles that are well-defined. Labor consists of digging and removing the debris from the pit. Exploring prospective archaeological sites, organizing and planning the excavation, supplying the tools, handling the locals to ensure the excavation will not be interrupted, and dealing with possible buyers of discovered archaeological assets are components of task division in an illicit looter group. Sappers and shovelers are relatively high ranks in group hierarchy comparing stand guards as they are expected to sacrifice their freedom in case of a raid. The newest member of the group works as a stand guard and is responsible for the safety of those working in the excavation. In many cases, the safety of those who work 4-11 meters below ground depends entirely on stand guards because sappers and shovelers are unaware of what is going on outside. In case of a raid, experienced stand guards are expected to stall off the gendarmes. During my fieldwork, I was able to reach eight active groups, seven of which was working with double safeguards. My respondents proudly mentioned their early experiences in antiquity looting stressing that they started out as stand guards. Ergül, like other looters, described how he became skilled in fieldwork by emphasizing his early role in the group:

"All of us started as stand guards when we were the newest member of the team. I was 17 years old. After being tested, I started watching over my guys. While they were working, I would stand somewhere near them to make sure no one was coming nearby. It is not only the police that we are hiding from. Villagers, hikers, campers, wild animals, and basically anything that may be a threat to the group. Two of us were responsible to keep these threats away from the site. In case of a raid, of course, we were the first to be sacrificed, and we knew it from the beginning. If something unexpected comes up, you may have to give up on yourself for others. It happens too."

The personal experience narratives of illicit antiquity looters also showed that some informants became addicted to go looting after their first excavation experience. Forty-four of the active looters claimed that they were addicted to the excitement and adventure that they experienced during excavations. To illustrate, Resul, a 31 year-old informant, shared his feeling about looting with these words: "I swear, mine is a sickness. I can't stop digging. I don't care so much about

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money, but the thrill. Even thinking about the excavation makes me excited, I can't imagine my life without it". I must add that many informants outside the looting community defined looting as a sickness too. A female participant, Müşerref, who is a relative of a looter, mocked her cousin for being addicted to constant digging and told him to dig her own garden if he couldn't find a place to dig. Mother of another looter, Gülsem, informed me that his son gets literally sick when he cannot dig for a while. During my fieldwork, I heard many stories about being addicted to looting told by insiders and outsiders alike. The retired looters also complained about missing their looting days, and four of them kept mentoring active ones to be close to the activity. Therefore, they were able to keep up with recent events among current looters. Muslim, a 67-year-old mentor, told me that he felt alive, young and like a real man. He could not cut his relationship with looters even though he did not get anything in return, except the excitement.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The problem of illicit antiquity looting should be evaluated with its social and cultural dimensions and motivations shaped by religion, politics, economy, and folklore in a particular society. This approach will surely be able to provide us with a deep understanding of the multifaceted realities of archaeological looting. Even though poverty and inadequacy of law enforcement have consistently been shown as the strongest motivations for antiquity looting in previous studies, my fieldwork indicates the main impulses behind the problem are not fully related to economics. Knowing that all my informants relied on a stable income provided by their full-time job or pension, I must say that looters pursue this activity to gain extra money, experience excitement, and fulfill their free time. At this point it is worth mentioning that earning money is given priority over the interests of future generations, and humanity in general. As a result, illicit looting enables looters to dream a better life that cannot be achieved by doing their formal job. Dreaming of being rich overnight is of course nurtured by folklore as well.

The ownership of treasures including minerals, mainly gold and silver, below and above the surface of the earth has been regulated with Ore (rikaz) in Islam. Despite secular penal codes, rikaz regulations do not condemn illicit looting since finding a treasure requires one to pay taxes to the Islamic state. However, the practice of rikaz is reinterpreted in Islamic societies, including Turkey (Aktan 1996, 87-88; Al-Houdalieh 2021b, 24; Sabiq 1998, 282-283; Karataş 2021, 114). Accordingly, instead of paying one-fifth of the estimated value of an object to the state treasury, looters prefer to donate it to the poor. This re-interpretation of the rikaz can also be traced through their personal experience stories. To illustrate, they emphasized that they did nothing wrong as they donated one-fifth of the estimated market price of antiquities found in illicit excavations. Kartal, a 32-year-old informant who was a leader in a looter group at the time of fieldwork, whispered "Is there anyone who claims ownership?". Kartal knew that no one around the

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excavation site would be able to claim it, but he was easing his guilt. He said "I need to ask if there is someone to claim it. We already donate one-fifth of its worth to the poor. If it brings more money than we expect, we donate even more". Personal experience narratives show that illicit antiquity looters cared more about the rules of religion than the state's secular laws, and they had difficulty understanding how laws could prohibit looting when religion did not explicitly prohibit and condemn it. Muhammed, a 24-year-old informant, expressed his thoughts as follows: "I haven't heard any fatwa that prohibits looting. It means that Islam is not against it, right? There is something fishy going on in this". In fact, the Presidency of Religious Affairs granted a ruling (fatwa) in 2014 stating that searching antiquities is forbidden as it violates public and individual rights. Islamic fatwa, however, has no effect beyond confirming the regulation of secular laws. It does not emphasize the value and importance of archaeological resources for the present, future generations, and the history of humankind. Not having this awareness is our biggest problem that endangers the historical consciousness of future generations. This also explains why imams, muezzins of various mosques, and self-educated hojas help illicit antiquity looters to remove antiquities by performing rituals without contradicting their religious ethos. The fatwa of the supreme muslim council, on the other hand, does not contradict the legal provisions of treasure. However, members of the council seem to be aware that illegal digging to find valuable objects leads to destruction of heritage resources, thus inflicting damage upon the nations' past, present, and future. Also, fatwa forbids illicit looting if the looted objects are being sold to a second party (Al-Houdalieh 2012c, 25).

Anatolian-Turkish folklore, which includes social norms, beliefs and oral tradition provide looters with reasoning to pursue their illicit activities without feeling guilt despite penal codes. Firstly, social norms label looting as gravedigging and hobby. Knowing the lion's share of profit is not being given to looters, social actors not involved in looting tag the activity as side work that requires elbow grease. Moreover, condemnatory social norms give weight to anti-social activities that directly harm individuals and society. Additionally, there are folk beliefs that luck, destiny, and sharing encourage looters to follow their fates. Narratives, tales, and proverbs in the Turkish oral tradition decorated with Elija, dream, luck, and treasures present stories that prove it is possible to get rich overnight by being at the right place at the right time. Indeed, finding a priceless archaeological object was associated with being at the right place at the right time by most respondents too. Additionally, many of the informants stated that the stories they heard positively influenced their endurance when they became disappointed in excavations. The looting of antiquities with the assistance of jinn has been in Anatolian-Turkish folklore for ages. Studies show that looters have been searching for archaeological objects with the help of jinn for ages (Al-Haudalieh 2012a; Ibn-i Haldun 1996). These studies also show that in addition to Muslims, Non-Muslims have also been taking advantage of jinn to find the exact location of a hidden treasure.

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The archaeology community in Turkey and worldwide battle against the looting of objects from archaeological sites (Barker 2018; Al-Houdalieh 2012a, 2012b; Bowman 2008; Brodie and Renfrew 2005; Byrne 2016; Elia 1997; Matsuda 1998). Raising local awareness about archaeological heritage protection and preservation requires strategies beyond penal codes which seem to be not effective. Numerous cross-cultural studies on the effectiveness of legal and regulatory strategies have already declared them insufficient (Atwood 2004, 170; Shapiro 1994, 293; Bator 1982, 312; Weihe 1995, 84-90; Özgen 2001, 120; Rose and Acar 1995, 46-50; Brodie 2002, 4-19; Al-Houdalieh 2012b, 25). Turkish society is not aware that their cultural heritage is being stolen since even news do not present the issue as a problem. The fact that looting archaeological heritage equals theft only occurs to archaeologists and intellectuals in Turkey. To achieve the required national awareness among folk can only be possible if all parties fight against it. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Interior should initiate a joint program with national media emphasizing the importance of cultural patrimony and involvement in cultural heritage preservation. In this way, future generations can grow up with an awareness of their cultural heritage that must be embraced and appreciated by them in the first place.

The results of this study suggest that ethnoarchaeological fieldwork enables us to explore the social, cultural, economic, and political motivations and dimensions of illicit looting. Knowing why and how antiquity looters pursue their activity is a first step that helps communities to take measures to stop it. Conducting interviews with antiquities looters warrants archaeologists important, multifaceted information about motivations, dimensions, methods behind the plundering and/or vandalizing of archaeological resources, and the prevalence of antiquities looting at local and global levels. This study has shown that lack of cultural heritage awareness in Turkey mostly stems from folklore and culture, which both provide a suitable environment for antiquity looters. The study aimed to explore how illicit antiquity looters were involved in the practice despite the penal codes that involve imprisonment plus penal fine. My interviews with active and retired looters showed that they all grew up listening to treasure narratives and personal experience narratives from their masters. Treasure narratives in the form of memorates, legends and tales documented between the 14th-20th centuries show that they are only different from the present-day folklore of illicit looters in their tools and methods. Regardless of their time, they reflect the rational motivation of illicit antiquity looters that looting promises being rich overnight by being at the right place at the right time. Personal experience stories with supernatural components called memorates in which dream, jinn, and Elijah are common motifs tend to turn into legends overtime. Hence, we can assume that the legends of past generations were personal experience stories that became anonymous, and memorates of present looters will probably turn into legend in the future too. As these secular and spiritual stories introduce us to the knowledge of illicit antiquity looters

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accumulated throughout ages, we must carefully analyze the elements of the acculturation process in illicit antiquity looting.*

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COSSACK MILITARY CULTURE AS EXPRESSED IN FOLKLORE

DARIA ŁAWRYNOW

ABSTRACT

The article presents main examples of Cossack military culture and his role in the daily lives of Kuban, Ural and Kazakh Cossack communities. The investigated material consists of a corpus of oral works (songs, proverbs), examples of rituals, elements of the physical education system and folk games. Cossack folk culture and traditions were based upon the fundament of military society. Its members placed their identity in the broader context of warfare, which they understood both as a source of income and glory, as both a practical and ethical interpretation of their historical role. The article's methodology is based on the functional analysis, ethnographic studies and comparative literature methods. Research on this aspect of Cossack culture is an important element of broader studies on Cossack identity. The analyzed materials shed light on the process of creating historical memories and identities of Cossack communities and fits into a wider range of Cossack studies.

Keywords: Cossack folklore, military culture, Kuban Cossack, Kazakh Cossack, Ural Cossack.

AIM AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of this article will be to analyze chosen examples of Cossack military culture and elaborate upon the role it played in the daily lives of Kuban, Ural and Kazakh Cossack communities. By military culture we should understand not only folk oral and musical works related to warfare and the military (songs of historical subject matter, marches, legends of Cossack military leaders, folk proverbs, folk literature), but also all connected traditions, such as yearly competitions in wrestling or pugilism, ritual duels during trizna and war games, including the conquering of "snow castles"; also included are drill exercises, initiation rites, meant to aid in bringing up a new generation of warriors or serve as rituals, e.g. ritual farewells to those going to war [cf. Yarovoy 2014: 53-54, 152-153, 184, Kotlyarevskiy 1868: 131, Snegirev 1837: 25-27, Mykhaylyna 2007: 199, 234, Adamovich 2012: 143, Kalyandruk 2007: 239, 241-243].

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The exemplary material consists of a corpus of oral/folk literature, mainly songs and dumas, as well as proverbs, as well as examples of rituals and customs connected with the military, elements of the physical education system and folk games.

The study is based on an analysis of materials recorded from the second half of the 19th century up until the beginning of the 21st century; these are collections of traditional songs, including lyric-epics, as well as folk epics and proverbs.

The article's methodology is based on the functional analysis of chosen works of Cossack culture [cf. Bogatyriew 1979: 320-333, Hübner 2005: 15-35, Malinowski 1958: 31-33, Paluch 1987: 134-142]. The specific character of this research requires the study of literature, ethnographic studies and the use of comparative literature methods.

The research is comparative and focuses on two related socioethnic groups, which developed in ethnic isolation: the Kuban Cossacks of the former Black Sea Host, and the Kazakh Cossacks.

The study was also made under the premise that the main subject of analysis is not the historical fact itself, but rather the manifestation of a certain worldview, a reflection of archetypes and stereotypes of thought. Folk culture is understood to be a source of historical memory. For this reason, we have decided against strictly defining the timeframe of the study.

While cossack military culture has yet to be thoroughly investigated, since the fall of the Soviet Union there has been a growing interest in slavic military culture in general. Major works on this subject include the research G. Adamovich [2012], A. Afanas'yev [1995], B. Gorbunov [1997], V. Dolgov [2014: 57-60], Y. Fihurnyy [2004], T. Kalandryuk [2007], O. Mandzyak [2006, 2007], Shevtsov [2010] and others [Tumanov, Yeganov, Neretina, Knyazev, Tumanov, Sapegin 1999]. Cossack military culture in particular was investigated in more detail in books and articles by, among others [Aleksandrov 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 97-100, Huska 2013: 32-37, Yarowoy 2014, Kozlov 2003, Matveyev 2002, 2009: 120-134, 2011, Medvedev 1993, Zadunays'kyy 2006].

It follows that there is still need for more thorough research on the character and role of Cossack military culture, which was unique from other folk cultures of the former Russian Empire. This is because the Cossacks formed a highly militarized community, which resulted in the dominance of themes connected with war and battle in their folklore, as well as a particular lasting popularity of those customs connected with war and weapon worship. Some of these traditions had archaic, Slavic roots (*e.g.* cyclical duels during certain holidays), others were local in origin. It is important to remember that the military culture investigated in this article was a reflection or manifestation of the local worldview and value system. It constituted a source of historical memory and helped in transmitting values and beliefs.

This article is the effect of original research (text analysis, library inquiries) on Cossack cultural identity and military culture, which was also used for the

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monograph *Friends among Foes. The Identity of Kuban Black Sea Host Cossacks and Kazakh Cossacks (on the basis of folklore materials)*.

Another aim of this research paper is to introduce Cossack issues to the wider scientific discourse and to further the development of Cossack studies as an academic discipline – this discipline is still very new in Russian and Ukrainian universities and essentially unheard of in Western Europe.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COSSACK COMMUNITIES

The Ukrainian, Russian and Kazakh Cossack communities were, from their beginnings, reliant on warfare for their livelihood. Their lifestyle was based primarily around hunting, fishing, robbery and mercenary work [Plokhy 2001: 19-20, Boeck 2009: 2-4, Gordon 1983: 15-16, Seaton 1972: 3, 6-8]. Therefore, the mentality of these various groups (later known as hosts), as well as their cultural works, were closely connected with the sphere of military operations. At first, the Cossacks living in the borderlands of Poland, the Russian Empire and the Euro-Asian frontier were organized in loose warbands, but with time they formed a kind of military democracy. In time, these Cossack communities, nominally under Polish jurisdiction, developed into a quasi-state in their own right [cf. Brekhunenko 2011: 179-184, Horobets' 2017: 9-10, 17-18, 441-468, Chirovsky 1963: 154-156, Plokhy 2006: 165]. Russian communities initially retained their autonomous status and were gradually incorporated into the state's larger military structure [Brekhunenko 2011: 229-245, Venkov 2008: 64-65, 278, 2009: 16-19, Alekseyev, Minenko 1995: 23, Plekhanov, Plekhanov 2009, Kharuzin 1885: XVI-XIX, XXII-XXIV, McNeal 1987: 5-11, 54-58, O'Rourke 2000: 27-31, 2007: 221-224, Boeck 2009: 2-4, 23-24, 27].

This internal consolidation, which took place starting with the beginning of the 17th Century, served to foster the simultaneous processes of self-identification. Its benchmark will be the worship of warfare, as well as the value system derived from this worship. It is important to note that military service and engaging in warfare were considered a voluntary lifestyle choice, chosen by the Cossacks of their own volition. Therefore, all of the Russian Empire's attempts at interfering with or reforming the Cossack military were met with heavy resistance – they were perceived as encroaching upon essential freedoms [Venkov 2009: 16-19, Zheleznov 1910: 272-277, 311-316, 319-356, Gulyayev 1895: 26-27, 30-32, Korolenko 1914: 139-143, Bilyy 2009: 165-167, Bigday 1992: 344-346, Rudakova 2011: 493-498, Julicher 2003: 76-105, Boeck 2009: 25-26, 28-29, 35, McNeal 1987: 5-6, 12-18, 42-49, Rourke 2007: 222]. This was the case with both Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks. Additionally, during the period of strictest Imperial government control (from 1735-1775), the latter of the two often abandoned the traditional Cossack lifestyle entirely [Repan 2009: 37-41]. It is then evident that with stricter government control over all the Cossack hosts came two trends in the Cossack identity discourse. One of these was placing one's "craft" into a broader

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patriotic context: being a Cossack became associated with being in service to the Tsar and the fatherland. The other was the disassociation of one's social class with one's identity, since the class is no longer considered one's own choice – with "making a living the Cossack way". The latter was traditionally understood as independent decision making regarding war raids and a solely war-based source of income. Therefore, as stated in historical sources, the Cossacks would start to rebel whenever the authorities tried to decrease their degree of independence and make them into mercenary forces [cf. Matveyev 2002, 2009: 120-134, 2011, Yarovoy 2014: 3-4, 191, Minutin 2015, Vasil'yev 2009, Brekhunenko 2011: 296-299, Repan 2009: 37-41, 71-72, 134-138, Boeck, 2009: 230].

Cossack culture, as investigated in this article, was based upon the fundament of military society. Its members placed their identity in the broader context of warfare, which they understood both as a source of income and glory, as both a practical and ethical interpretation of their historical role. It is important to note the field research conducted by Galina Vlasova and Yekaterina Dotsenko among modern Kazakh Cossack communities. Their members traditionally identify themselves with the "free volunteers" of old, who served as self-governing mercenaries in the times of Genghis Khan – their service to the Tsars was a compromise and not compulsive [Vlasova 2008: 65]. In exchange for military service, the Tsar freed them from other feudal duties and did not intervene in their internal matters [Vlasova 2008: 65]. This is also evidenced by older, XVIII century ethnographic research by Alexander Rigel'man on the Cossacks of Don – they conclude that military service was considered a voluntary choice, motivated mainly by religion [Rigel'man 1846: 3-7, Novitskiy 1912: 625-639].

THE ROLE OF FOLKLORE AND MILITARY CULTURE IN THE LIFE OF COSSACK COMMUNITIES

In the beginning, the Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks served for as long as they could, later however their military duty was regulated by law to last between 20 to 30 years – therefore, most of a Cossack man's life was spent in the military [Novitskiy 1912: 625-639].

The general attitude to the military "profession" was already apparent on the lexical level, e.g. in official letters, where all Cossack communities were called "armies" and the Zaporhozians additionally received the adjective "free" or used the term "knighthood" [cf. Wójcik 1972: 73-78, Sementovskiy 1846: 5, 25-27, Kharuzin 1885: XVIII, XXII, Lishin 1894: 390, 727, 775, Ryabinin 1866: 28-32, 53-54, Bondar' 2002, Brekhunenko 2011: 276-280, 296]. Therefore, it was a secondary concern if the Cossacks were subservient to anyone, since they still made their living in battle, regardless of the geopolitical situation. Combat was also considered a guarantor of freedoms, e.g. in the duma attributed to hetman Ivan Mazepa, titled *Всі покою щиро прагнуть*, where the speaker states that *it is thanks to the sword that we have rights* (*же през шаблі маєм права*) [Ohlobyn 2001].

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In this way, folklore and traditions served to uphold historical memory, as well as consisting a chance for the youth to socialize. A Cossack man's destiny was warfare, while a Cossack woman's – giving birth to and caring for the future warrior. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in one song a husband instructs his wife to marry their daughter to a Cossack, so that she can *give birth to a hero for Tsar the Father* (Пусть для батюшки Царя родить в свет богатыря!) [Myakutin 1905: 114].

Here is another interesting dialogue between a girl and a young soldier, who is calling her to come serve with him, since military service is full of merriness and even entertainment:

> Развеселое житье:/ Быстры реченьки/ сладкой водкой протекли/ наши круты бережки/ виноградом обросли
> A pleasant life:/ With sweet water/ the swift river flows/ and grapevine on the river banks grows [Myakutin 1905: 120-121].

The girl, however, refuses, saying that she served in the army herself and saw rivers of blood and tears.

Cossack folklore was a reflection of the "microcosm" of the Cossack lifestyle, as military attributes accompanied the Cossacks throughout their whole lives. This is evidenced by e.g. rites: a boy was accustomed to tools of war since his very birth – his family would gift him bullets or arrows. After the child grows his first tooth, his father or godfather would make him sit on a horse and strap a saber to his side, then observe if his offspring behaves "like a Cossack", that is if he sat on the horse without fear. Then the boy would receive gifts connected with warfare [Kashakarov 2015: 20, Yarovoy 2014: 178, Naumov 2010: 242-243, Maslov 2007: 23-26]. Cossack lullabys, on the other hand, contain the themes of going out to war and "giving your son a horse", but especially of inherited destiny, a kind of cycle of warfare:

> Богатырь ты будешь с виду/ и казак душой (...)/ И отец твой, храбрый воин/ Закален в бою
> You shall be a hero/ and a true Cossack (...)/ Like your father, the famous soldier/ he who was hardened in battle [Bagizbayeva 1977: 97-98].

In another lullaby the mother introduces her son to his role as a warrior:

> Сам узнаешь, будет время, бранное житье./ Смело вденешь ногу в стремя/ и возмешь ружье (...)/ Да готовясь в бой опасный/ вспомни мать свою...
> You'll see, you'll lead the army life./ You'll put your leg in a stirrup/ you'll pick your army gear up (...)/ And while you prepare for deadly battle/ you'll think of your old mother...) [Yenoborisov 2014: 247].

The interior of a Cossack's house would remind a Cossack of his responsibilities as well: the walls decorated with sabers, daggers, powder weaponry

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[Belova 2013-2014, Naumov 2010: 242-243], and the symbol of the master of the household – the lash, both a weapon and a symbol of justice, a tool for punishment [Glushchenko 1999: 67-68, Ivchenko].

WAR AS SUBJECT MATTER IN THE SONGS OF KUBAN, URAL AND KAZAKH COSSACKS

Songs constituted the most popular genre in Cossack folklore. Their core themes revolved around war, military, fighting enemies. This is exemplified by words such as *Любим шумные веселья/ Любим драться мы с врагами* [We like noisy joy/ We like fight enemies] [Sbornik tekstov kazach'ikh pesen...]. This song praises a militarized lifestyle, as well as calls for maintaining good sense while feasting and always being prepared for battle. In other song, *Наше дело лишь бы драться...* [Our thing it's only to fight], the Cossacks declare that they do not even want to wait for an enemy to appear, but find one themselves [Myakutin 1904: 207-211].

The average Cossack's life is also shown in songs with historical subject matter, often in the context of particular events: a life of military duties and constant readiness for war, in a way ingrained in one's psyche. In one of these pieces we receive this image of the local "profession":

> Служба – то казачья доля, И ее над нами власть./ Если нам случится драться С неприятелем когда/ Станем дружно защищаться, победим врага всегда./ Государь нас одевает И велит поить кормить/ И за службу награждает, Лишь сумей то заслужить.
> Service – that's the Cossack's fate, and we are in its thrall./ Whenever we will have to do battle with our foe/ We'll fight together side by side, and defeat them every time./ Our lord honors us with the uniform, gives us drink and food/ and he'll reward us for our service – we only have to earn it [Kazhenova 2007].

Other songs display courage and readiness for battle despite unfavourable conditions (*Утром рано весной* [In the morning, early in the Spring] [Zakharchenko 2002: 52], *Гарнизон наш в Баязете* [Our garrison in Bayazet] [Maslov 2007: 54]), sometimes contrasting the indomitable spirit of the average Cossack with the doubting and submissive nature of high-ranked officers (*Мы не по морю гуляли* [We weren't carousing by the sea] [Zakharchenko 2002: 33]). Some works also glorify military traditions and persistance in the face of adversity (*Мы сыны Кубани славни, древнеруськи козакы* [We are sons of Kuban, Ancient Russian Cossacks] [Zakharchenko 2002: 11]).

One often displayed trait was the insane courage of the heroes, which would allow them to achieve a victory against more numerous foes [Matveyev 2002: 69-72]. For this reason, folklore pieces often took the form of a "chronicle of battle", teeming with colorful descriptions of battle tactics [Matveyev 2002: 69-72].

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Cossack songs also differed from those of soldiers or recruits in their general mood: there served to motivate, invigorate and were filled to the brim with humor. They were rarely melancholic.

Cossack musical folklore, particularly marches, also consisted a part of military culture in that they served as a part of battle preparations. These marches were sung during military excercises and drills, but also games and other amusements, such as customary traditional melee matches, called "kulachki". These songs were to aid in education, socialization and evoking a certain mood – a battle trance [Yarovoy 2014: 23, 60, 144, Kalyandruk 2007: 181-182, 184]. Additionally, similar to proverbs and traditional sayings, they served as a tool for education [Ibidem]. Examples of such educational songs include *Конь боевой с походным вьюком* [Military horse with army pack saddle] and *По сырой земле туман стелется* [Fog spreads over damp ground], both being a kind of father to son instruction. In the latter song, the father warns his son – a Cossack of the Choperski regiment, of the "evil Circassians" [Manuylov 2007: 22-23]. His offspring was not cautious enough, however, which is why the rest of this work consists of the wounded hero's plea to his comrades to not abandon him in a foreign land [Ibidem].

THE ROLE OF MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE LIFE OF COSSACK COMMUNITIES AND ITS INFLUENCE ON FOLK CULTURE

Let us now take a while to examine the system of Cossack military preparations in general. As evidenced by Oleg Matveyev's research on the Kuban Cossacks, these people's military tactics were strongly influenced by their specific lifestyle. They were at once warriors and farmers, which is why they prefered simplicity, precision, perseverance and making efficient use of one's energy both in physical labour and during military operations [Manuylov 2007: 73-74]. Spartak Aleksandrov reached similar conclusions on the grounds of earlier sources, as well as his original research of the community's traditional military culture – he states that, over time, the Kuban Cossacks created their own system of physical and moral education, suitable for preparing one towards the role of courageous warrior and good husbandman. The various traditions and rituals of Cossack physical education fulfilled both a symbolic and practical function – the youth socialized during physical labor, while assisting parents in farm work was interspersed with military-themed games and amusements [Aleksandrov 1999a: 6, 12-19, 23-25]. Both children's games and the ritualized elements of family holidays were filled with military contexts, as well as traditions taken from folk games and cyclical battle exercises ("kulachki", but also other brawls popular among Slavic agrarian cultures, including ritual brawls, e.g. during Easter or the funeral rites of Trizna [Yarovoy 2014: 54, 180-184, Mandzyak 2006: 12, 60-62, Aleksandrov 1999b: 97-100, Bondar' 2002]) and horse-riding competitions ("jigitovka"). Therefore, they were focused on training one to be resilient to pain and hardship, teaching

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courage, honesty, discipline, responsibility and managing one's energy efficiently [Aleksandrov 1999a: 13-19]. Aleksandrov also mentions the role songs and dances played in forming a mindset that would be effective in battle. In 19th centuary Ukrainian folk songs were even included in school curriculums, since learning them was considered important for one's identity and morality of Kuban Cossacks [Aleksandrov 1999a: 18-19, 32, 36-39]. Similarly, the Orenburg Host included the learning of war songs among other mandatory classes [Starikov 1891: 174].

The importance attributed to traditional physical education and military culture is also evidenced by the various initiatives for basing the curriculum of local schools on the aforementioned folk songs [Aleksandrov 1999a: 29-45]. According to the Kuban Cossacks themselves, such a process would not only strengthen the students' constitution, but also their patriotism, religiousness and sense of local identity; it would also teach specific moral virtues, such as solidarity, perseverance, selflessness, faith and a strong spirit [Ibidem].

Traditional cyclical melee contests and children's games, based on military drills or war expeditions were present among Ural and Kazakh Cossacks as well [Zheleznov 1910: 2-16]. One characteristic of these games was a particular form of roleplaying. The participants would split up into two groups: the always victorious "our people" and "the foreigners", which embodied the current enemy, i.e. the Kyrgyz people [Cf. *Sochineniya Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova* 1904: 289-292, Kazhenova 2007], Circassians, as well as various Muslim peoples and, later on, Germans and the Japanese [Mandzyak 2007: 38-39, Gorbunov 1996: 11-12, Shcherbina 2008].

The children of Kazakh Cossacks would also play the old Russian game of conquering "castles" made of snow [Starikov 1891: 219-220]. In addition, this host would adopt some Kazakh traditions, such as traditional whip fights, wrestling matches ("kures") or horse races organized in the steppes during holidays ("bayga") – the participants of these competitions often included women [Naumov 2010: 95, Vlasova 2008: 32-33, 231]. In 1882, Filaret Sinkovsky was horrified to find out that Cossack children know more of horse acrobatics and the Kazakh language than of the fundamental Orthodox prayers [Bizhigitova 2013].

It can then be said that drills and military exercises were an integral part of traditional Cossack culture, along with the mandatory learning of folk songs, agility exercises such as horse acrobatics and dances, which were supposed to lead the users into a trance-like state [Starikov 1891: 174, Yarovoy 2014: 23, 60, 144, Kalyandruk 2007: 181-182, 184, Mandzyak 2006: 19-25, 226].

The themes of fun, combat and death – of the "bloody dance" appear in the traditional battle culture of all the communities discussed here.

One characteristic of Cossacks was, according to researchers, a nonchalant attitude towards life and death [Sichyns'kyy 1992: 117, Wójcik 1972: 110, Al'bovskiy 2005: 33, Nelepin 1995: 141, Volkov 1998: 222]. They considered death on the battlefield perfectly natural, in a way even destined [Ryblova 2005:

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209-224]. In songs concerning the agony of a wounded hero there often appears the motif of death as a symbolic wedding. This motif appears frequently in Cossack and more general soldier folklore; it appears in the songs of many different groups [cf. Pavlenko 2003: 134-135, Lanovyk 2006: 8, Astapenko 1998: 64, Strukova 2015, Kitaynik 1949: 52-53, Eliasov, Yarnevskiy 1969: 298, Pryyemka, Marozava, Luk'yanava, Karatay 2010: 68, 72], including those of Kuban Cossacks. Natalya Suprun-Yaremko cites the piece titled *Ой поля, ви, поля* [Oh, fields, you fields], which consists of a dialogue between a Cossack man and his horse [Suprun-Yaremko 2005: 419-420]. The death itself takes the form of a type of magical initiation, the hero was "married by a swift bullet (...) betrothed by a sharp saber" [Ibidem]. The perception of death as the crowning moment in a hero's life or as a moment of transition has its roots in Old Germanic, and even Indo-Iranian military culture, along with the cult of the horse as a comrade in battle, bidding farewell to its dying master. The Ural folklore motif of death through ingesting three "drinks", however, has not been noted in Kuban folklore. This motif is also rooted in mythology, however in Cossack folklore it took on a humorous character [cf. Ryblova 2006: 161, Sasnowski 2010: 127, Myakutin 1905: 83-86].

In the folklore of Don and Ural Cossacks the hero's death is often shown metaphorically – as the ingesting of three "drinks" [Myakutin 105: 83-84]. In some of the songs the mother watches her fatally wounded son, staggering and "soiled with Muslim blood" and believes him to be drunk [Myakutin 105: 84-86] – his state brings to mind the battle frenzy known to occur in berserkers. It is important to note that Kazakh Cossack folklore, similarly to other Cossack folklores, gives equal praise to one's skill in battle as it does their "feasting skill"; the battle itself is often described as a feast with guests. The Cossacks "offer" their enemies "gifts" in the form of bullets [cf. Myakutin 1904: 155, 158, 162, 171, Lanovyk 2006: 36], they "brew beer" or "make wine" for their enemies [Lanovyk 2006: 72, Fihurnyy 2004: 138-139]. Service in the military is a form of entertainment, during which one can display "how to revel the Cossack way" [Myakutin 1904: 165]. War, in turn, is a kind of "bloody dance", but also a way to "purify" one's land of an enemy's presence [Yakovenko 2002: 244-248]. According to Yuriy Fihurnyy, such an outlook was not specific to the times of Kievan Rus', but may even be connected with the customs of the step peoples (such as the Scythian custom of drinking an enemy's blood to absorb their strength), or with the customary victory feast, organized as a form of payment or thanks by the military leader, which is a known custom among the Caucasus Narts, Germanic peoples and in the Kievan Rus' court [Fihurnyy 2004: 126-137, Akunov 2014, Shchukin 2005: 204-206]. It is important to note that the songs of all Cossack hosts often copied motifs from old Russian poems, such as the "bloody feast", "bloody wine", "brewing beer" for the enemy, the "field sown with bones" or "plentiful heads" and "furrowed with pikes" or "hooves" [cf. Afanas'yev 1995: 129-131, Yeremin 1966: 158-159, Dmitriyev, Likhacheva, Likhachev 1982: 350-351, Sokolov 1955: 236, Prozorov

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2006]. According to Yulya Kononova, the Cossack songs did take over these old Russian motifs, however for the Cossacks they lost their original mystical connotations in favor of a more "mundane" identification of battle with a cheerful event in the life cycle of the army in question [Kononova 2015: 268]. Accordingly, one of the songs contains the motif of obeying two orders: the order to attack, but also to drink a "portion of wine" as a toast for victory or to strengthen one's courage [Myakutin 1904: 66, 165]. According to Andrey Yarowoy, the metaphor of battle as a feast was supposed to "familiarize" a Cossack with the enemy, to establish a kind of connection between them [Yarovoy 2014: 155]. Another traditional motif present in Kazakh Cossack folklore was that of death as wedding [Myakutin 1905: 62-69, 74-79, Bagizbayeva 1977: 36, Vlasova 2008: 21-22]. Interestingly enough, in one of the variants of the songs from this cycle, sung among the Cossacks of north Kazakhstan, the hero says to tell his wife that he "died for his fatherland", and only then the traditional "wedding" part begins [Vlasova 2008: 22]. In another variant the Cossack "fraternizes" with the bird who will, in a moment, "feast" on his body; the hero asks the bird to tell his mother of his death [Myakutin 1905: 80]. This motif of death is also accompanied by feelings of local patriotism – the Cossack dies "in a foreign land, on strange soil" and reminisces about "his Ural", his "lovely homeland" [Myakutin 1905: 79-81, Bagizbayeva 1977: 36-37], sometimes even the "Holy Rus'" [Myakutin 1905, 78-79]. In one of the songs, the dying hero asks to be buried under a kurgan (another tradition of the steppe peoples), on which "his land's native snowball tree" would be grown for birds to perch on and tell him "tidings from his lovely homeland" [Myakutin 1905: 81]. Foreign land, such as "the wild Asian steppe" is not only enemy territory, but also culturally alien, a symbolic threshold of the familiar world. Therefore, some of the songs feature the wounded Cossack's pleas not to leave him behind in the steppes [Myakutin 1905: 81-83]. This plea refers both to customary Cossack comradeship and the aforementioned idea of "the world's threshold". For a Cossack in military service war was also a mission – he was to conquer other nations and "civilize" (often simply Russify) new lands. Therefore, he had to feel there is a purpose to his actions, to familiarize himself with the environment and conditions – on a conscious level as well. For this reason the folk songs contain not only the simple argument of "as my ancestors did, so do I", but also offer solemn couplets and humor. This humor and lighthearted attitude are a common characteristic of the Cossack army song. The collective speakers, all of them engaged in a war, make light of danger, death and difficult material conditions; thus, they emphasize their "stoutness", courage and dedication to the cause [Myakutin 1904: 140-143, 155-158, 162-164, 171-173, 194-195]. Through joke they "tame" the danger that awaits them in a culturally alien environment and thus reduce stress. The death of the Cossack is surrounded by symbols: the Cossack dies "on a road that no one walked, on the crossroads", oftentimes under "the only tree in a field" (which is reminiscent of the Slavic symbol of the "world tree"

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[cf. Yarovoy 2014: 72-73, 95, 99-103]), grass grows upon his body – something ends so that something new may begin [Myakutin 1905: 54-57, 59-61, Bagizbayeva 1977: 35].

The Cossack would also die in full equipment: "with a bridle on the right, a sharp saber – on the left, at agile legs – a lively horse" [Myakutin 1905: 59]. This image brings to mind the rites of the Saka, Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, in which a warrior would be buried with his weapon, his dead horse and its equipment [cf. Baypakov, Artyukhova, Kurmankulov, Mar'yashev *et al.* 2006, Sulimirski, 1979: 136-146, 192]. One Cossack prayer, a "funeral psalm", written down in north Kazakhstan, also contained a statement alluding to warfare: "I go to fight the foe, a Godly battle until the end" – for the dying this "battle" is a sort of "ticket" to eternal life in paradise [Vlasova 2008: 181-182].

It is important to note that, aside from the sacralization of weapons, the Cossacks also traditionally valued their companion in battle – their horse, which exists in a way on the threshold between the earthly and the unearthly, enabling it to e.g. foretell the Cossack their imminent death [Myakutin 1905: 58]. The horse is inherently associated with the freedom of the Cossack lifestyle; in one of the songs noted in north Kazakhstan, the heroine laments her sad fate, which could be different if she had a horse – then she would be a "free Cossack", able to live independently [Vlasova 2008: 9]. Weaponry too should be an object of respect. This is enforced in a lighthearted way by e.g. the fairy tale titled *Кукиш с маслом* [Diddly squat], in which a worn out pike takes offense at being turned into a scarecrow by its owner, and a scarecrow dressed in an enemy's (a Tatar's) clothes. It punishes the Cossack by provoking the birds to ravage his farm, in order to teach him to use items for their natural purpose [Mashkovtsev 2017].

The themes of the horse and weaponry as one's most faithful companions is also featured in Cossack songs of the bandit cycle, for example the piece titled *Далеченько, далеченько, того было подальше* [It was so far, so far away] [Myakutin 1905: 30-31]. Its hero is about to be questioned by the Tsar himself, so he tries to think of a metaphorical answer to questions about his fellow bandits: he names his horse an ataman, his bow a yesaul and his bullet a messenger [Ibidem]. These items – attributes of the Cossack way of life, such as "miss saber", the trusted steed or different weapons will be present again and again in songs and rites [Fihurnyy 2004: 70].

THE ART OF WARCRAFT IN COSSACK PROVERBS

Proverbs are another important element of Cossack military culture, as they reflect the values and mental characteristics of said group. They can take the form of advice and often refer to local cultural codes, based on local codes of honor. In this way, they exhibit patriotism and a sense of duty to protect the fatherland: *Береги землю родимую, как мать любимую* [Protect the fatherland like you would your own mother] [Aleksandrov 1999b: 99], *З родной зэмли умры нэ*

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сходы (Die before backing down from your fatherland] [Tkachenko 2008: 118], *Дураку и батькивщина нэ в моду* [To a fool even his homeland is not in vogue] [Tkachenko 2008: 114]), as well as bravery: *Отвага казаку – половина удачи* [Courage in a Cossack – that is halfway to success] [Aleksandrov 1999b: 99], *Назад тикэ раки лазять* [Only crawfish walk backwards], *Бой отвагу любит* [Battle loves courage] [Aleksandrov 1999a: 26]. Additionally, they praised ingenuity and cleverness: *То не козак, шо поборов, а той, що вивернувся* [It's not victory that makes a Cossack, but the ability to pull through] [Aleksandrov 1999b: 99], *Где саблей не возьмешь, там пикой достанешь* [Where a saber is no good, one has to use a pike] [Maslov 2007: 59], patience and perseverance: *Тэрпы, козак, горе-будеш пыть мэд* [Suffer ordeals, o Cossack, and you shall drink the mead], *Опизнывся, козак, так будэшь и так!* [Even if you are late, o Cossack, you shall still arrive!] [Piven' 1995: 30], physical prowess: *Богатырская рука однажды бьет* [A hero's hand strikes once] [Ibidem], *Як нэма сили, то й свит нэ милий* [Without strength the whole world is unpleasant] [Aleksandrov 1999a: 26] but not deceit *Не той правей, хто сильней, а той, хто честней* [Not he is right who is stronger, but he who is more fair] [Aleksandrov 1999b: 99].

Noted were also many proverbs referring to religious values: *На Бога надейся, а сам ни плошай* [Trust in God and never give up yourself] [Aleksandrov 1999b: 99], *Береженного Бог береже, а козака шабля стереже* [A cautious man is protected by God, a Cossack by his saber] [Aleksandrov 1999a: 26].

Popular among Kuban Cossacks were also sayings derived from the Zaporozhian traditions of the free lifestyle: *Стэп та воля – то козацька доля* [The steppe and freedom – that is a Cossack's fate] [Aleksandrov 1999a: 26].

Proverbs could also be considered a short characteristic of the average Cossack, suggesting a militarized lifestyle: *Казак без седла, что черкес без кинжала* [A Cossack without his saddle is like a Circassian without his dagger] [Aleksandrov 1999a: 26], *Казак без пики, как девушка без ожерелья* [A Cossack without his pike is like a girl without a necklace] [Maslov 2007: 50], *Казака ни с кем не спутаешь: пулями меченный, шрамами отмеченный* [You won't mistake a Cossack for anyone else: he is marked by bullets, awarded with scars] [Maslov 2007: 59], *На тэ казак народывся, шоб Богу и царю сгодывся* [The Cossack was born to serve God and the Tsar] [Tkachenko 2008: 124] – the last one clearly characterizes the Cossack's destiny), or highlighting the realities of local society: *У казака две опоры: плуг да сабля* [A Cossack can trust his plough and his saber] [Maslov 2007: 59], *Хорош на гумне, хорош и на войне* [He who is good at threshing is also good at fighting] [Korolenko, Popko 2009: 46].

CONCLUSION

It is important to note that modern Cossack local identity is also sustained through many links to folk culture. The author's observations made during field

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inquiries in Astana and Almaty in 2014 have shown that the local Cossacks uphold memory of their past mainly through cultural activities: they organize various lessons on history, music, dance and traditional martial arts, as well as concerts and live shows. However, continuing military traditions through the creation of structured militias, law enforcement or border patrols is not taken into consideration, unlike in Russian and Ukrainian Cossack communities. In Kuban, on the other hand, we can see a growing interest in the region's history and cultural heritage. School curriculums often see the introduction of such subjects as *Knowledge about Kuban* (Кубановедение), Cossack class profiles are also created, as well as whole Cossack schools, which focus on fostering patriotic and military values among the youth. Great emphasis is placed on a patriotic upbringing and military education, as well as on teaching the local culture: songs, dances, legends, handcrafts.

As we can see from the exemplary material, works of folklore have been, and still are, a reflection of the Cossack worldview, its practical realization in the act of communication. Historically, they have also complemented Cossack military activity, along with its ideological basis.

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TRADITIONAL PRE-CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS OF WESTERN PODILLYA

OLEG SMOLIAK, NATALIIA OVOD, OLENA SPOLSKA

ABSTRACT

The article analyzes folk winter holidays celebrated in December before Christmas as the greatest holiday of all Christians. There is a combination of folk (pre-Christian) traditions with Christian traditions, which co-exist to this day. The holidays analyzed in the research are dedicated to the most common names of saints in Western Podillya[1] (as well as in Ukraine as a whole), which are most often given to the local residents. *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios Day celebration, in addition to its Christian custom, characterized by church services in memory of martyrs and honoring birthday people, is also known by the traditions related to celebrating the land in winter period, protecting cattle, as well as the cult of deceased ancestors. Celebrations of *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios holiday are proceeded by the celebration of Michael's Day, which symbolizes the arrival of winter. In Western Podillya St. Michael is known as a protector against evil forces. He is also perceived by the locals as the patron saint of wild forest animals and hunters. Until the middle of the 20th century St. Catherine's Day celebration in Western Podillya followed the rituals reflecting pre-Christian beliefs. Among them are rites of "destiny calling", fortune telling and divination (considering the destiny of a future marriage couple), as well as honoring the cult of ancestors. During *Varvara*/St. Barbara celebration the most evident are magical actions associated with fire and water as the main elements in the world creation and symbols of the Nativity of Jesus Christ in the Christian tradition. Such lunar symbols as dumplings and pies are important for the understanding of celebration rituals. Most ritual actions convey love courtships related to the choice of a future marriage partner. St. Anna's holiday completes the cycle of holidays related to Christmas celebrations. It marks the beginning of Christmas preparations: women clean houses, men arrange farm buildings and property, provide food for festive meals, girls organize groups for singing carols and other traditional customs of Christmas holidays celebration.

Keywords: Western Podillya, Christian religion, ceremonial action, divination, folk holiday.

[1] Western Podillya occupies almost the entire part of the Ternopil region (except the northern districts) in Western Ukraine.

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INTRODUCTION

The traditional calendar of Western Podillya locals, as well as Ukrainians in general, is undoubtedly subordinated to agricultural work, as it is fundamentally agrarian. This is due to the fact that it is regulated by the beginning and the end of various types of agricultural farm work. With the advent of Christianity, the church calendar began to influence the traditional calendar rituals of Ukrainians: pagan holidays were superimposed on Christian ones. Therefore, the elements of double beliefs can be clearly traced in the calendar holidays and rituals. In this peculiar combination naturalized Christian beliefs have been coexisting along with the pagan folk rites till present.

Until the middle of the 20th century the ancient ceremonials, observed in Western Podillya, were supposed to ensure success and prosperity in business occupations of people as well as in their family life. According to the field research, in present times the majority of local population no longer understands their original meaning, but retains them as a certain traditional heritage. After all, as it was noted by historian P. Bogatyriov, "misinterpretation of the rite increased belief in its power and use" (Bogatyrev 1971: 189).

Winter holidays are the most revered among all annual calendar holidays in Western Podillya. This was emphasized by the interviewed respondents themselves during the survey. In particular, they note that the winter cycle of holidays is rich in various rites and customs, and their magical actions are aimed at the celebration of Christmas of Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Old New Year and Epiphany.

In Western Podillya pre-Christmas period begins with the first group of holidays[2] – *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios Day (in the pre-Christian period it is autumn *Yuriy's*[3]/St. George's Day in Autumn celebrated in November 8). It is followed by the celebration of the Archangel Michael holiday (November 21). The second group of holidays includes St. Catherine's Day (December 7) and St. Andrew's Day (December 13). The last (third) group of holidays is represented by the holidays of *Varvara*/St. Barbara (December 17) and St. Anna (December 22). As you can see, a certain sequence is being followed in the pre-Christmas cycle of holidays, which is directly related to the movement of the Moon around the Earth, that is fundamentally lunar by nature. The primacy of the lunar calendar in sequence of winter holidays was also emphasized by K. Kutelmah, as he noted in particular: "The lunar calendar was the most ancient among many peoples, since the movement of the Moon was very easy to observe even with the naked eye.

[2] The grouping of pre-Christmas holidays is based on the common content, the system of motivational components and their magical prelude to the great Christmas of the Son of God Jesus Christ, the Old New Year and Epiphany.

[3] Until recently, our ancestors used to believe that the autumn *Yuriy*/George's Day in Autumn (in the Christian period overlapping St. Demetrios' Day) closed the earth with a key for winter rectreation and the spring *Yuriy* / George's Day in Spring (May 6) opened it.

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People noticed that the Moon returned to the same Sun-related coordinate in the sky about every 30 days. This is well demonstrated by the lunar phases as different shapes of the visible part of the Moon. Although counting time, especially the annual cycle, was according to the Sun" (Kutelmakh 1994: 125). The solar calendar came to use during the transition of our ancestors to settlements and agriculture and settled farming. As it is known from archaeological data, in the IV AD, proto-Ukrainians already used the lunar-solar calendar (Rybakov 1962: 81). This practice has been common among the Ukrainians until recently. After all, Christmas and Kupala (a pagan fertility rite later adapted into the Orthodox Christian calendar by connecting it with St. John's Day) holidays are celebrated according to the solar calendar, while Easter and Green Holidays (the Eve of Holy Trinity) are celebrated according to the lunar calendar. This gives reason to claim that at the initial stage, traditional astronomy was focused on the movement of the Moon, because in ancient times the observation of the rising and setting of the moon in the sky was at the basis of a calendar year division.

AGRARIAN MOTIFS IN THE HOLIDAYS OF *DMYTRO*/DEMETRIOS' AND *MYKHAILO*/MICHAEL

The first group of holidays begins with *Dmytro's* holiday/St. Demetrios' Day[4] celebrated in November 8[5]. In contrast to other winter holidays, there are perceptible motives connected with the recreation of the land, with the cattle cults, commemorating ancestors, etc.

The first motif stems from the fact that the old-timers of Western Podillya believe that the farm land goes to rest since *Dmytro* holiday/St. Demetrios' Day (autumn Yuriy's Day/St. George's Day in Autumn in the older period[6]). This is connected with the pre-Christian beliefs that St. Yuriy /St. George is primarily the guardian of the peace of the lands during the winter period: on November 8 he closes the farm land for rest, and on May 6 he opens it. After all, our ancestors considered the land and soil to be holy: "Holy is everything that it gives birth to. All food in Ukraine is highly respected and called a Gift of God, and as a Gift of God, it must be respected" (Mytropolyt 1994: 38).

Locals of Western Podillya have long cultivated great respect for the land. They believed that it is a living entity and only land itself can give life to others.

[4] Saint Demetrius (or Demetrios) of Thessalonica or Holy Great-Martyr Demetrius was a Christian martyr run through with spears in around 306 AD.

[5] The dates of the holidays are given according to the Orthodox (Julian) calendar.

[6] The Great Martyr Yuriy (George) came from a noble Roman family and held a high position in the army. When the persecution of Christians began, he took their side, for which, after eight days of severe torture, on May 6, 303, he was beheaded in Nicomedia (Asia Minor). The Christian Church included St. George among the ranks of saints. After the victory over the Pechenegs on November 8, 1036, Yaroslav the Wise ordered to celebrate the holiday of *Yuriy* / St. George Day on November 8. This day was called the autumn or cold *Yuriy*.

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Therefore, on *Dmytro* holiday/St. Demetrios' Day local folks used to express gratitude to their farm land for providing them with food, giving crops and bread, giving them strength in difficult times. On this day, the whole family used to go out to their plots of land at sunrise, kneel down, bow their heads to the ground and said: "My holy land, let me hug you, I give you a kiss you like a child to its mother. Go to rest before the thunder rolls and St. Yuriy opens you. We thank you for the strength you filled us with". Then they crossed the farm land three times and kissed it[7].

Dmytro holiday/St. Demetrios' Day has obvious analogies related to the patronage of cattle during the holiday of *Yuriy*/St. George's Day. This patronage is most evident in the spring period, when people begin drive their cattle out to the pasture, completely entrusting their safety to the protection of St. *Yuriy*/St. George. Calendar-wise, St. *Yuriy* /St. George was believed to look after the cattle in winter period exactly six months later, so that he would protect them from wolves and other predators. These rites are dominated by cults of domestic animals: goat, sheep, horse, and ox, as the main personified totems in the Christmas rituals of Western Podillya. After all, as the informant pointed out: "in the ancient times the cattle was especially revered on *Dmytro's* Day: on this day, every cattle owner had to give the domestic animals enough food and water and clean their stables"[8].

In ancient times *Dmytro*/Demetrios' celebration, as noted by local old-timers, was full of joyful moods. This is confirmed by a number of local carol motifs, which are dominated by the festive idea of joy over farming prosperity from cattle breeding and gratitude for it to its Creator:

Ой господарю, господарочку,	Oh master, fine master,
Ой відкрий ж нам та й воротечка.	Oh, open that door for us.
Заженемо ж ти стадочко коров,	Let's drive in a herd of cows,
А всі корови мальовані	And all the cows are beautiful,
За ними бички вгодовані	And the bulls are fattened as well.
	(Hnatiuk 1914, vol. 1: 157).

The rites related to the protection of livestock and cattle in the winter period have been observed until recently during the celebration of this holiday. First of all, these are the rites of sowing the stables with poppy seeds, which was supposed to protect them from all kinds of evil forces.

Shepherd rites are also associated with *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' celebration. After that day, all the cattle could no longer be driven to pastures. That is why cattle breeders of West Podillya finally used to pay the shepherds for their work (mainly with rye grain).

[7] The incantation was recorded by O. Smoliak from Zhiga P., born in 1907 in the village of Skala-Podilska, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in 1992.

[8] From the ethnographic records by Ovod N. from Irkha M., born in 1916 in the village of Mali Chornokintsi, Chortkiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on June 1, 2006.

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The most common custom of *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' celebration in Western Podillya is the commemoration of deceased ancestors (being widespread until the 1940's in some areas of Western Podillya, in particular in its northern Pidvolochysk and Zboriv districts, this tradition has not survived to this day). Commemoration of deceased ancestors usually took place before Dmytro's Day on Saturday (if the holiday fell on Saturday, then ancestors were commemorated on the same day). That is why it was also called "*Dmytro's*", "family" or "grandfathers' Saturday"[9]. On this day, all the dead were commemorated with services in churches and then celebrated with memorial dinner at home till the beginning of the 20th century. It was a kind of autumn wake for dead relatives. Usually, housewives would cook many dishes and gave each of them to beggars who went from house to house on this day and prayed for the souls of the dead. On Dmytro's Saturday, memorial dinners usually took place mainly in the evening (no meals were consumed up to that time as everyone was fasting). At dinner each member of the family used to scoop up a spoon of the dish before consuming the food and put it in a separate plate, which together with the spoon remained on the table until the end of the meal, and after the dinner it was put for the whole night in *pokut*[10]. Some water was left near this plate and a towel was hung overnight so that "the souls of the dead could wash and have dinner"[11]. Similar rituals were common in other regions of Ukraine. The Hutsuls in the Carpathians made a kind of "grave commemorations" on *Dmytro's* Saturday. They used to put some bread and a lit candle on the graves, and they also used to eat ritual meals, giving bread to the poor and beggars "for the dead souls" (Kutelmakh 1994: 164). In Kholm region, a round wheat cake flavored with honey was specially baked for the commemoration of the deceased (Ryzhyk 1997: 265). On this day *kolyvo*[12] and pancakes were usual ritual dishes in Volyn Polissia. Pancakes were made with all doors or windows open, "so that their sweet and delicious flavor would lure the ancestors' home. As they had been living underground in the darkness for so many years, they begun to see poorly, and it would be easier for them to get to their relatives by the scent of pancakes" (Sapiha 1993: 96). In the South of Ukraine, rich flavored bread was baked from white wheat flour and given to midwives who fastened up navels... Let them commemorate all the deceased (Krasykov, Oliinyk & Osadcha 1998: 45).

Starting from the Middle Ages, when church rites were combined with pagan ones, the cult of ancestors began to be observed at the level of Christian dogmatism. Thus, commemoration of the dead was integrated into church rites

[9] The traditions of the "grandfathers' Saturday" in O. Voropai's book *Zvychai nashoho narodu. Etnohrafichnyi narys* [Звичаї нашого народу : етнографічний нарис] (Voropai 1958: 247].

[10] A corner with a nearby space in a Ukrainian peasant house, located diagonally from the stove, where two benches meet at the edges. Usually it was the most honorable place in the house.

[11] From the ethnographic records by Ovod N. from Humeniuk A., born in 1925 in the village of Mali Chornokintsi, Chortkiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on June 1, 2006.

[12] A ritual Ukrainian dish of cereals with sweet gravy, the first thing served at a memorial dinner.

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(this tradition was observed in the studied region until the beginning of the 20th century). Usually, in the morning, housewives used to bring three small loaves of bread with the names of the dead written on sheets of paper to churches, so that priests would mention their names during the church sermon. According to popular folk beliefs, the first bread was intended for long-deceased relatives, the second was for grandparents who died recently, and the third was for those who died untimely (in war, in fire or drowned in water, etc.) (Skurativskyi 1995: 228).

Dmytro/St. Demetrios' Day usually was celebrated after all agricultural work was finished and it should be considered as expression of gratitude to the ancestors for their gifts. Although this holiday was mostly bright and joyful, some of its elements still had a mysterious and mystical coloring. According to the folklore beliefs, it was supposed to communicate with the souls of deceased ancestors and to please them in various ways on this day. In the region of Western Podillya some beliefs, retained to this day, claim that on the eve *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' Day one can see the shadows of the dead in cemeteries at night when they would rise from the graves and go to the houses of their relatives[13].

A number of magical actions aimed at obtaining the future desired result have been retained in the traditional celebration. This is primarily due to the fact that our ancestors tried to achieve the desirable result with their persuasive rites. In the ancient time there was a Western Podillya tradition to celebrate in sheepskin coats, "so that there would not be severe frosts in winter" and "so that winter crops would not freeze"[14].

In some localities of Western Podillya, in particular in the Transnistrian Region (Monastyrysk, Buchach, Zalishchyky and Borshchiv districts of Ternopil region) there was the custom of driving chickens to the planted garlic beds in the morning "so that the garlic would be big"[15] (observed until the beginning of the 20th century). And in the villages of Koropets, Hryhoriv and Velesniv of the Monastyrysk district of Ternopil region beliefs related to maintaining the water level in the wells were retained until the 60's of the 20th century: the first ones to take water from the well on *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' Day should scoop it up with their hands and pour it on the top of the log frame, "so that the water level would not decrease in winter"[16].

Traditionally, the girls from Western Podillya used to wrap white flowered headscarves, lowering one side over the sheepskin coats symbolizing the roads

[13] As recorded by Smoliak O. from his grandmother Yatsyshyn H., born in 1888, in the village of Nastasiv, Ternopil district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in 1972.

[14] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Zhiga P., born in 1907 in the village of Skala-Podilska, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in August 11, 1992.

[15] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Vohnenna M., born in 1916 in the village of Kovalivka, Monastyrysk district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in June 12, 1996.

[16] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Kliovan H., born in 1920 in the village of Grygoriv, Monastyrysk district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in June 13, 1996.

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covered with snow all the time in winter. And on this day, all married women imitated shoveling snow with a bread shovel, "so that bread would be baked well all winter"[17].

Until the beginning of the 20th century the ancient magical custom of welcoming winter with noise effects was retained on *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' Day. In the southern regions of Western Podillya (Burdyakivtsi village, Tsygany village, and Skala-Podilska village of Borshchiv district, Ternopil region) after the church service women used to dress in long skirts with raised hems ("so that the cloth whitens well in summer") and would go out in groups on the roads beat each other with metal forms for baking bread. This was their way to greet winter and ask "that it should not be cold". After that, the women would go to an old tree (maple or willow) and they would attach these forms to the tree branches "so that the birds would not freeze in winter"[18].

A rare, in our opinion, rite, related to ancient magical actions, was frequently followed by elderly men in Western Podillya (Bilivtsi village, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region) in ancient times. It was associated with scaring evil spirits away from the house and the entire yard. For this purpose, men used to make a thin, long candle, lit it from coal in the stove and solemnly carried it around the house from its southwestern corner to its southeastern corner. After that, they used to put the candle in a wooden bucket with some water at the bottom and were waiting until it burned out completely. According to the popular beliefs of the locals, "this candle was supposed to burn completely the evil forces aiming at the house at that time"[19]. As you can see, the magic combination of fire and water is this ritual is considered to be one of the best protections against evil forces in the pre-Christmas period.

An interesting form of practical magic for the next cabbage harvest was sprinkling the cabbage roots with the ashes after cabbages were cut in the kitchen garden. According to local old-timers, this would contribute to the good growth of cabbages during the next year[20]. So, *Dmytro's* celebration initiated the future harvest of vegetables, especially of cabbages as the most valued.

Nowadays, *Dmytro*/St. Demetrios' Day has lost a significant part of its ancient customs and is celebrated only by attending church services, celebrating patronal holidays and honoring birthday people named Dmytro. All rites come down mainly to feasts and fun.

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[17] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Solomaha M., born in 1917 in the village of Kryvche, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in July 11, 1992.

[18] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Zhiga P., born in 1907 in the village of Skala-Podilska, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in August 11, 1992.

[19] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Hulko H., born in 1919 in the village of Bilivtsi, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made in March 23, 1995.

[20] The above-mentioned rituals were recorded by N. Ovod during folklore and ethnographic expeditions to the villages of Kovalivka, Hryhoriv, and Velesniv, Monastyrysk district, Ternopil region on June 11, 1999.

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St. Michael's (November 21)[21] celebration is a peculiar addition to the traditional rites of *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios' holiday. While *Dmytro's*/Demetrios' celebration motifs are related to honoring the land in the winter period and protecting cattle, as well as the cult of deceased ancestors, then the motifs associated with the water element (the first snow and the protection against evil forces) are dominant in the rituals of St. Michael's Day.

Mostly, St. Michael is associated with the cult of water in local folklore. Until our time, there are popular legends in the studied region, describing St. Michael coming down from heaven to earth on a white horse on the eve of November 21 and bringing the first winter snow with him. In folk thinking this snow is especially desired, because if it does not snow on this day, then the following winter will be snowless. Snow is a natural protection of winter crops from severe frosts. Even today, local residents believe that if St. Michael comes on a "white horse", it is a good omen for harvest and health.

According to Christian dogmas, St. Michael is the supreme leader in the heavenly struggle against the enemies of God, the guardian angel of all the Christians. According to folk concepts, St. Michael is often depicted as a symbol of fire in popular iconography. As it is said in David's Psalm 104 (105): "He spread out a cloud as a covering, and a fire to give light at night" (Bibliia: 747). St. Michael is usually depicted on the icons as a warrior with a flaming sword in his hand.

St. Michael belongs to the most revered saints in Ukraine (together with St. Demetrios and St. Nicholas). This is confirmed by the number of Christian churches built in honor of St. Michael, and accordingly, the church holidays celebrated by the Ukrainian people in honor of Saint Michael the Archangel. It should be noted that, in addition to symbols of the sun, moon and stars consisting the ancient Ukrainian astral trinity, the gonfalons of Zaporizhzhya Cossack army often featured St. Michael as a warrior on a white horse.

In Slavic mythology, the celestial nature of the Moon was perceived as a symbol of a knight (warrior) on a white horse who defeats a dragon. It is a very old concept that has been developed in the collective consciousness of the Ukrainian people. On a symbolic level, the Ukrainian knight-warrior is an eternal fighter and winner, while the white horse is a symbol of good and light, which together with the knight defeated the dragon symbolizing evil and darkness. According to Christian ideological perception, this image symbolizes the victory of Christianity over the pagan beliefs. According to folk imagery, thunder rumbles symbolize

[21] In the Christian liturgy, Saint Michael the Archangel is glorified as the Archstrategist, the defender of the Church and chief opponent of Satan. Since the devil's expulsion from heaven, he has waged a ceaseless struggle with the forces of darkness, with the forces of Satan. The celebration of this date was adopted at the beginning of the 4th century by Council of Laodicea.

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Saint Michael the Archangel fighting in the sky with evil forces – the devil himself[22].

The motive of defeating the evil forces is indicative in St. Michael rituals. According to folk beliefs, Saint Michael the Archangel is an implacable the defender against evil powers, the guardian of all forest animals and hunters. This is confirmed by the statement of V. Chicherov, who noted: "The connection of evil forces with darkness explains the increase of its power during the period of the sun decline. After St. Michael's Day, predatory wild animals dominate in the woods, causing damage to farming chores, snakes prevail in the forests before falling asleep in winter hibernation" (Chicherov 1957: 36). All this proves that Saint Michael the Archangel had unlimited power over all the animals. After all, our ancient ancestors had been mainly engaged in hunting, therefore the hunters had their patron saint.

Since ancient times, locals have consumed such ritual dishes as meat jelly and pies during St. Michael celebration, inviting their neighbors and close relatives to the feast (there is a notable analogy with the second day of the Christmas holidays). It was already forbidden to send suitors on *Dmytro's* Day, and St. Michael's Day celebration used to end the season of autumn weddings.

All of the above gives grounds to conclude that St. Michael mainly represents the water element, which is the creative force giving life to all living beings in the world and is an irreconcilable and eternal fighter against evil forces.

The modern essence of St. Michael celebration is also reduced to honoring the namesakes, as well as celebrating church holidays, mainly consisting of two parts: church and secular. The basis of the church service is the celebration during the Liturgy with the invited priests from neighboring parishes, while the secular one is fun and feasts shared with the visiting close and distant relatives.

FORTUNE TELLING MOTIFES FOR THE FUTURE MARRIAGE ON ST. CATHERINE'S DAY

The second pre-Christmas group of holidays begins with St. Catherine Day (December 7). It is worth noting that this period of pre-Christmas cycle of holidays most closely corresponds in time to the Roman Brumalia[23], mainly popular in the ancient period in the Thracian lands[24]. As we can see from the essence of St. Catherine celebration rites, some elements have been retained from Brumalia

[22] From the ethnographic records by Spolska O from Turchyn E, born in 1926 in the village of Horodnytsia, Pidvolochysk district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on July 17, 2007.

[23] Roman Brumalia falls on the period from November 24 to December 17.

[24] Slavic-Thracian mutual influences, observed within the Carpathian region, were most noticeable in the 3rd – the first half of the 1st century BC. The Thracians, like the proto-Ukrainians, were developing farming and agriculture, cattle breeding, and various minor occupations. In addition to traditional religious ideas and beliefs in the sacred power of fire, the cult of the Sun can be traced in the Thracian spiritual culture.

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youth festivities, but they have far more indigenous features and are mainly marked by the divination for the future marriage and aiming to continue the natural human reproduction cycle.

St. Catherine Day is the holiday of great Christian martyr[25], and during the pagan period it used to be an occasion for girls and women to summon their destinies during the holiday of the goddess *Dolya* (Destiny)[26]. In ancient times, Ukrainians believed that when someone is born, God always sends them Destiny – good or bad. According to folk beliefs, one's *Dolya* (Destiny) always follows people and always accompanies them in any sircumstances: either helps or causes sorrow (Kononenko, A., Kononenko, S. and Kononenko, V. 1993: 60). Therefore, the most important rite for girls and women on Saint Catherine's Day was to summon their destinies and to bargain with them to be fortunate. In Western Podillya this rite was mainly performed by girls and unmarried women (in our time, this custom has become rudimentary in the studied region and is retained only in the passive memory of local old-timers). In ancient times on St. Catherine's day, Ukrainian women gathered at *vechornytsi* (traditional evening gatherings with music, songs, jokes and rituals) and performed divinations and some harmless spell-working to influence their future: usually they cooked a millet pot of porridge with poppyseeds, tied it with a new *rushnyk* (a decorative and ritual cloth, which is a symbol of family) and went out to the gates for "destiny calling". The ritual itself would be performed as follows: a girl used to go out to the gates and knock on it with a *makogin* (erotic symbol) and called her fate: "*Dolya*, luck, come for dinner!" After that, she listened carefully to hear any voices in the village that spoke of her Destiny. A good omen of happy Destiny (Fortune) was to hear a man's voice, and a bad omen of unhappy Destiny (Misfortune) was to hear a woman's voice[27]. In Sumy region, *Dolya* rites (Destiny Calling) was summoned by calling to the possible partner to come and eat some porridge (Borysenko 2007: 256). This magical action is based on ancient worldviews, grounded in the masculine principle, contributing to a happy marriage in the future[28].

In some villages of Western Podillya (in particular, in the Transnistrian villages of Zeleniy Gai, Pechorna, Dobrovlyany of Zalishchyky district and

[25] The Great Martyr Catherine (translated from Greek as "pure soul") was executed for her Christian faith around 373 AD. A few years later, Egyptian Christians found the remains of the great martyr and buried them in a monastery on Mount Sinai.

[26] According to ancient Ukrainian beliefs, each person has his or her own God-ordained Destiny (*Dolya*). The destiny appears as a new star in the sky immediately after the birth of a person, and with the death the star falls from the sky to the earth. A person's destiny is both good (Fortune) and bad (Misfortune).

[27] As noted by a local resident Teodoziv S., born in 1929 in the village Postolivka, Husyatin district, Ternopil region, the rite of "Destiny calling" was observed in this area until the 50s of the 20th century. Recorded by Spolska O. on June 17, 2006.

[28] V. Voitovych believes that "It is the most favorable time to get married at that time (on St. Catherine Day), when the activity of the Sun is the least, and the new Moon is coming to the sky" (Voitovych 2005: 216).

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Horoshova, Kudryntsi, Ivane Zolote, Kryvche of Borshchiv district, Ternopil region), girls used to take a handful of porridge during dinnertime, then they used to run out into the yard and throw the porridge on the rooftop and thus calling out for their future destined husband to eat porridge. If a guy was passing by at that time, he had to be a fortunate destined partner for a girl who "called him"[29].

In the above-mentioned Transnistrian villages of Western Podillya, "*Dolya*/Destiny calling" used to be performed on the outskirts of the village since ancient times: if someone responds from faraway, so the destiny is far away, and when someone responds from nearby, so the destiny is close[30]. As P. Chubynskyi reported: "On Catherine's Day, girls used to call on their destiny, and on Andrew's Day, destiny turned into fortune with its gifts" (Chubinskiy 1878: 257). Unfortunately, this rite is no longer observed in the studied region nowadays, but is only retained in the passive memory of local old-timers.

St. Catherine's Day, like other pre-Christmas winter holidays, followed the tradition of honoring ancestors as patrons of maiden destiny according to ancient beliefs. So, girls used to bring a bunch of immortelle flowers to the grave of a long-deceased relative on this day, "so that their Destiny would not die". Another rite, connected with the girls making a "sacrifice" to the willow tree, was also observed in the studied region. A kind of "sacrifice" was a shawl specially made for this purpose, and the girls threw it over willow branches "so that she would not be a widow"[31]. There are reminiscences related to the fetishization of a willow as sacred Ukrainian tree and offering it a shawl as a symbolic sacrifice (a symbol of loyalty) in this rite. As noted by O. Kurochkin "Saint Catherine's Day was a maiden holiday and the occasion for girls and unmarried women to summon their destinies and to bargain with them to be fortunate as the most fortune-telling rites predicted future marriages" (Kurochkin 1994: 361).

On Catherine's Day girls from many villages in Western Podillya used to cut off a twig from a cherry tree and put it in a bottle with water or planted it into the ground (it was a widespread tradition in many areas of Ukraine). If the cherry twig blossoms before Christmas or *Melanka* (14 January), it is a good omen of getting married within that year. If a twig dries down, it is not a good portent and the girl will not be wed the next year. In the same way, they predicted health or death for the next year. They used to put as many cherry twigs into the water as there are family members, marking them with corresponding colored threads. If someone's twig blooms, so they will live long. If someone's twig wither, so they will get sick or die. Therefore, according to the folklore concepts, the plants that bloomed in the

[29] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from a local M. Pankiv, born in 1916 in the village of Pechorna, Zalishchyky district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on April 14, 1996.

[30] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Solomakha M., born in 1917 in the village of Kryvche, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on November 7, 1992.

[31] From the ethnographic records by Spolska O. from Tulko E., born in 1921 in the village of Yazlovets, Buchach district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on May 21, 2004.

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most severe winter time were a symbol of the new revival of nature. Thus, a special power was attributed to them as they were magically connected with the destiny of people.

There was another Catherine's Day divination related to tree leaves in the researched region. Girls used to gather different tree leaves (and apple-tree leaf for a girl). They used to assign a male name to each leaf and put the leaves under the pillow before going to bed. Before going to sleep a girl would pray for a good Destiny (*Dolya*), so that it would have mercy on her. In the morning, she would ask the youngest boy in the family to pull out one of the leaves symbolizing the boy with assigned name as her future husband. If she gets an apple-tree leaf, then she will have to be a maiden the next year. So, fortune-telling, mostly associated with a future (happy or unhappy) marriage, was an integral component of Catherine's *vechornytsi* rituals.

The motif of matchmaking of a young people can be quite clearly traced in Catherine's Day rites, which are formalized in St. Andrew's evening games and entertainment. It is mainly manifested in the custom of matchmaking at the table for dinner party after the girls performed "Destiny calling" and young lads entered the house in the evening. Usually, a young man used to hide one or two nuts in his fists, and then he would ask a girl to guess the number of nuts. If the girl guessed where the pair of nuts was, so they would sit at the table together, and if not, then the challenge was to find another girl (Skurativskyi 1995: 244).

After the ceremonial dinner, the boys and girls from Western Podillya usually organized various games and fun. The most common was this one: a girl used to blindfold a boy with a scarf, and several other girls would call him from different corners. The young man goes to the calling voices shouts, and the girls would move to another place. The blindfolded man had to catch his "destined girl". As you can see, this game primarily belongs to the rudimentary ones, as it significantly related to the "Destiny calling" ceremony.

There is a notable combination of pre-Christian rites and customs with Christian ones in Catherine's celebrations. It is primarily manifested in the fact that the custom of going to church, lighting a candle and praying on Catherine's Day was followed by the girls in the studied region up to the 50's of the XX century. When the candle burned down, the candlewick was taken home and a cross was made from it and carried near the heart, "so that the spirit of the loved one would enter the heart"[32]. This kind of cross was often used by girls to charm men they liked. After that the cross was tied with a red thread, once attached to a jug in with Jordan water, and together with a bunch of cornflowers it was buried under the gate of the yard where the beloved man lived. As a result of such rituals, the young man would definitely look for this girl who cast a spell and he would try to marry her.

[32] From the ethnographic records by Spolska O. from E. Turchyn, born in 1926 in the village of Horodnytsia of the Pidvolochysk district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on July 17, 2007.

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As we can see, the most long-standing pre-Christian customs were preserved in Catherine's rites. This is particularly proved by the spellcasting magic that undoubtedly dominates it.

There was another Catherine's Day custom for young unmarried men to put handkerchiefs, given by their girlfriends, under the pillow at night. If a lad was dreaming of his girl, he would definitely marry her. In the ancient period, courtship rituals were equally performed by both girls and boys. This allows to argue that unmarried young people (regardless of gender) were primarily concerned about the future choice of a marriage partner during the pre-Christmas period.

Until the beginning of the 20th century there was an ancient custom of arranging a girl to sleep with her parents on the bench in the most important corner of the house – *pokut*. It was believed that "her parents would soon expect her wedding in their house (would sit on the bench with wedding cakes) and bless her for marriage"[33].

Ritual motifs, associated with fire and water as the main elements of world creation, appear in Catherine's Day celebration. It is confirmed by the use of candles (there is notable magic associated with the fire as active life-creating element). Housewives used to light three candles in front of the icons from the early morning on holiday, "so that the family generations would not be broken"[34].

As the respondent from Western Podillya said "On Catherine's Day all water also had miraculous properties: on this day, the girls or women who had a wounds or sores on their bodies used to go to the well to perform a symbolic "drowning of a sore"[35]. At the same time, they threw the shirt, worn for three weeks, into the ice hole, believing that the sore would be definitely healed.

There is an ancient tradition of washing oneself with water from melted snow on Catherine's Day in the researched region, "so that the beauty blooms and the evil eye would not have power"[36].

In the modern folk tradition, St. Catherine is revered as the patroness of pupils, students and scientists, because she always sought new knowledge, and St. Catherine is also supposed to assist in a difficult childbirth, because she knew how to heal (Muzychenko, Mishchenko and Haidamaka 2000: 13).

Unfortunately, today St. Catherine's Day celebration has almost completely lost its traditional customs and beliefs in the studied region (a significant part of maiden fortune-telling is performed on St. Andrew's Day). It is celebrated only at

[33] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Tuka A., born in 1917 in the village Lapshyn, Berezhany district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on November 10, 1992.

[34] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Tuka A., born in 1917 in the village Lapshyn, Berezhany district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on November 10, 1992.

[35] From the ethnographic records by N. Ovod from Golovetska S., born in 1934 in the village of Zolotyi Potik, Buchach district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on April 28, 1996.

[36]From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from Tuka A., born in 1917 in the village Lapshyn, Berezhany district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on November 10, 1992.

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the level of birthday parties as close neighbors, relatives, friends come to the house from the very morning and congratulate the birthday people, wishing them good health and all the best. The latter accordingly invite them to the table and treat them with drinks and snacks.

LIFE-CREATING CULTS OF THE HOLIDAYS OF *VARVARA*/BARBARA AND ANNA

The last (third) group of winter pre-Christmas celebrations is represented by the sequence of holidays of St. Barbara and St. Anna (these holidays have more allusions to Epiphany as the third Christmas holiday). The first holiday is Varvara/St. Barbara Day[37]. This holiday has retained the ancient symbolism associated with the moon and lunar cycles. Because of that, until recently, it was characterized by cooking *varenyky* or *pyrogy* (dumplings) in Western Podillya region.

Actually, one can see the mystic approaching of the Christmas holidays in the cooking of dumplings. As *varenyky* (dumplings with various fillings) are the main dish of the Christmas Eve Supper and the Feast of the Epiphany. It should be noted that Western Podillya *varenyky* (as well as Ukrainian dumplings in general) are made in the shape of halfmoon. In general, Ukrainian dumplings are definitely a festive treat. They are traditionally cooked for Sunday lunch or dinner and are served on various major and minor holiday occasions, so they are a cult dish. Their shape clearly resembles a phase of the new moon. As K. Sosenko notes, "the very fact of eating *varenyky* every Sunday indicates a very strong lunar motive, as Sunday is the seventh day of the lunar week" (Sosenko 1994: 54).

If the holiday of *Varvara*/Barbara is connected with lunar symbols, then it is undoubtedly related to the Christmas holidays (the holidays with mostly common astral-lunar symbolism, found in most of their attributes, such as dishes, cookies, carol singing, etc.). This fact is proved by mandatory ritual series: cooking *varenyky* (dumplings) for the feasts of *Varvara*/Barbara, Anna and St. Nicholas. It should be noted that until recently, *varenyky* used to be the main gift for good wishers and carol singers.

In the ancient times, Western Podillya girls used to cook *varenyky* (dumplings) with poppy seeds (charm magic) for *Varvara*/Barbara, but often instead of poppy seeds, they would put a bundle of wool there[38], which was a kind

[37] Great Martyr Barbara, was an early Christian saint and martyr. Accounts place her death in the 3rd century (December 17, 306 AD) in Heliopolis Phoenicia. According to church sources, the remains of the holy great martyr Barbara were transferred to Constantinople in the VI century. In the 12th century, the relics of Saint Barbara were brought from Constantinople to the St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery in Kyiv by Princess Varvara, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos when she married Rus' prince Mykhailo Izyaslavovych. The relics were transferred to St. Volodymyr's Cathedral where they rest until our time.

[38] A dumpling with wool visually resembles female genitalia.

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of erotic symbolism (it was also a kind of initiation of future marriage). In addition to wool, girls could also fill the dumplings with flour. While serving the boys, the girls carefully watched who got the dumpling filled with flour in order to poke at the boy (Skurativskyi 1992: 102). A very old tradition of youth fun games is felt here a peculiar way to obtain the desired result.

It should be noted that the holiday of *Varvara*/Barbara was a kind of love magic practiced on St. Catherine's Day and St. Andrew's Day in Western Podillya. This was especially evident in the rituals that initiated the future marriage. First of all, this holiday was filled with girls' addresses to *Dolya* (Destiny) or praying to God for a marriage partner. They "encoded" this request in the kerchiefs, which they began to embroider since that day in order to present them to the wedding guests the following year.

According to the source: "In ancient times, young girls began to learn how to embroider *rushnyky* (ritual cloth towels) on the feast of *Varvara*/Barbara in order to bind honorable wedding elders during the weddings. Every girl had to prepare handmade wedding *rushnyky* and wedding shirts for a groom and his parents before the marriage. The matchmakers usually evaluated the skills and mastery of the future housewife"[39].

Until the 40's of the 20th century unmarried girls from the village Mechyshchiv, Berezhany district, Ternopil region retained the tradition of baking and preserving seven loaves of bread on the shelf on *Varvara*/Barbara's Day, "for not to be married to a suitor from faraway"[40]. By the way, each loaf had its own magical purpose: the first loaf was for a crow, "so that it would not call bad luck"; the second was for the evil people, "so that they do not speak evil"; the third was for the destined partner, "so that he would not be from afar"; the fourth was for the Mother of God, "to protect against all calamity"; the fifth was for the deceased family, "so that sins of the dead would not fall on those alive"; the sixth was for the drowned, "so that they wouldn't pull water from their eyes", and the seventh was for St. Barbara, "so that she would give a girl her destined partner"[41]. All these loaves of bread were supposed to be preserved until Christmas, and then a girl would put them all in a pillowcase, "so that it would be good to sleep on a pillow with her sweetheart". Finally, they crumbled them and gave crumbles to the birds (nowadays, this tradition is not observed in this area). As you can see, this custom is based on a set of magical actions that were supposed to facilitate future marriage, honor ancestors, and ward off evil forces.

According to the old-timers of Western Podillya, our ancestors used to believe that the land was transformed on *Varvara*/Barbara's Day. This belief was

[39] From the ethnographic records by N. Ovod from Irkha M., born in 1916 in the village Mali Chornokintsi, Chortkiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on June 1, 2006.

[40] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from O. Tkachyk, born in 1929 in the village of Mechyshchiv, Berezhany district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on October 12, 1993.

[41] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from O. Tkachyk, born in 1929 in the village of Mechyshchiv, Berezhany district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on October 12, 1993.

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connected with a natural seasonal cycle of spring coming after winter. In order for the land not to befall anything evil at this time, the local residents used to pour holy water on the crosses standing at the crossroads, "so that Jesus Christ would protect"[42].

The cult of water is especially important for *Varvara*/Barbara celebration as water is the second life-giving element in creation mythology. Locals believed that all the water on this day was "preparing for spring enrichment", so it should not be "disturbed": do not take water from wells, rivers, streams, especially from the wells, "because it might not be good for drinking by the next *Varvara*/Barbara's Day"[43].

The cult of the water as a life-giving element was complemented by the cult of fire. Because of that, even before the 40's of the XX century, the tradition of treating the sick with fire and water was observed in Western Podillya on *Varvara*/Barbara's Day. Usually, twenty lit candles were placed from the right side the table to the left, and locals used to read a prayer over the water in glassware while holding the thirteenth candle. Afterwards, the sick person should drink this water and should wash oneself with it[44]. As we can see, the celebrating of *Varvara*/Barbara's Day, as well as Catherine's and Andrew's holidays were dominated by the rites of fire and water as the main elements that anticipated the coming of Christmas.

According to the resident of Kryvche village (Borshchyv District, Ternopil region), the ritual of covering one's nakedness with a shawl was cultivated among women during *Varvara*/Barbara's ancient celebration, so that "fortune would cover them with all good"[45]. This ritual reflects an element of contagious magic (protection of the reproductive body parts from evil spirits). Also, on this day, women were forbidden to wash clothes, whiten houses and knead clay, they were only allowed to embroider and spin. This was due to the belief that Saint Barbara, according to oral tradition, loved to embroider and even embroidered robes for Jesus Christ himself (Potebnya 1887: 194).

Lately, the celebration of *Varvara*/Barbara's Day has completely lost its characteristic rituals in Western Podillya and is reduced to honoring the namesakes. The tradition of singing pious religious songs on the feast of Barbara remained only in some villages of the Berezhany and Kozova districts of Ternopil region, as "whoever sings about the Lord at this time, has better life on earth"[46].

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[42] From the ethnographic records by O. Smoliak from A. Zazulyak, born in 1903 in the village of Verbivka, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on March 24, 1993.

[43] Ibid.

[44] This treatment was described from the words of E. Turchyn, (born in 1926 in the village of Horodnytsia of the Pidvolochy district, Ternopil region) who heard it from her grandmother. The recording was made by N. Ovod on July 09, 2006.

[45] According to Solomakha M., born in 1917 in the village of Kryvche, Borshchiv district, Ternopil region, as told to O. Smoliak. The recording was made on January 7, 1992.

[46] Shaida I., born in 1928 in the village of Poruchyn, Berezhany district, Ternopil region, told about the singing of pious songs on St. Barbara's Day. Recorded by O. Spolska on June 6, 2004.

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The third group of winter holidays of the pre-Christmas cycle is completed by St. Anna's Day (December 22). This holiday is called "Conception of the Holy Mother of God by righteous Anna" in the Christian tradition. Anna, a priest's daughter, was married to Joachim. They had no children for a very long time, and only at the end of their lives did the Lord give them the only daughter, Maria, who became the Mother of God (Katrii 1982: 288).

In Ukrainian traditional rites, this day does not have any specific characteristic customs, and it completes those traditions dominating the celebration of *Varvara*/Barbara's holiday.

The most widespread and observed until recently was St. Anna's tradition of the "polaznyk" as an omen of good and happiness for the whole family in the coming year. The "Polaznyk" tradition mainly had a cleansing character and contributed to the welcoming of the Epiphany (the birth of water in the pre-Christian period).

Anna's holiday had special significance for pregnant women. On this day, they had to observe a strict fast and they were also forbidden to do any physical labor (Matvieieva and Holoborodko 1995: 21).

On this day, girls used to gather in communities to discuss the coming celebration the Christmas holidays in Western Podillya. "A girl could become a member of such a community only when she already knew how to embroider, spin and sew. After all, it was not accustomed to be idle during *vechornytsi* (evening parties) till early mornings"[47].

Starting from Anna's holiday, housewives would prepare for Christmas holidays: they were whitewashing and cleaning their houses, feeding cattle and poultry, so that they would have enough meat for the holidays, etc. Since St. Anna's Day the unmarried men would start matchmaking and engagement rites (Maksymovych 2002: 136).

CONCLUSIONS

As our observations have shown, the pre-Christmas cycle of holidays is divided into three groups, each inspired by Christmas, namely one of its three components.

The first group of *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios and *Mykhailo's*/St. Michael holidays in the pre-Christmas cycle is a kind of preparation for the main winter cycle. That is primarily evident from the essential celebrating content. On Dmytro's holiday, local residents expressed gratitude to the nurturing farm land for its mercy with specially prepared dishes and corresponding prayers.

Cattle was given a special role in *Dmytro's* feast. On this day, the local residents used to place their cattle under the care of autumn *Yuriy*, who was

[47] From the ethnographic records by Ovod N. from Teodoziv S., born in 1929 in the village of Postolivka, Husyatin district, Ternopil region. The recording was made on July 27, 2006.

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supposed to guard and protect the livestock until the first drive to the pasture. That is why the residents of Western Podillya tried to feed the cattle as best as possible and take care of them, since they were a kind of totem animals for their owner in the winter period, bringing happiness and well-being. The cult of ancestors also played an important role in *Dmytro's* holiday, as until recently, the locals used to commemorate their deceased ancestors by preparing special dishes for them. It was a kind of gratitude and tribute to the ancestors for the gifts during the previous agrarian year. The celebration of *Dmytro's* holiday also symbolizes protection against evil forces, especially the protection of livestock and cattle.

St. Michael's Day (November 21) symbolized the advent of winter and was a peculiar addition to the traditional rites of *Dmytro's*/St. Demetrios holiday. Until recently, local residents still believed that if St. Michael comes on a white horse (a white horse is a symbol of the water element), then winter will come on the Day of The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known as *Vvedennya*.

In Western Podillya, St. Michael is worshiped as a fighter against evil forces. He is also perceived by local residents as the patron saint of wild forest animals and hunters. That is why hunters always used to go to churches on St. Michael's Day and light candles as talismans against bad luck on the hunt. Since ancient times, locals have consumed such ritual dishes, such as meat jelly and pies on the feast of St. Michael, inviting their neighbors and close relatives to the table (there is an analogy with the second day of the Christmas).

The second pre-Christmas group of holidays in Western Podillya starts with celebration of St. Catherine Day. The holiday of Catherine is full of rituals, dated back to pre-Christian times. First of all, this is shown in the rite of *Dolya* "Destiny calling", characterized by the custom of cooking a millet porridge with poppy seeds and bringing it to the gate to "treat Destiny".

Fire and water (as elements of world creation) often dominate in Catherine's rites. On this day, girls would go to church to pray and light candles. After that, the candlewicks were taken home and crosses were made and carried near the heart, "to charm the sweetheart". Also, they used to wash themselves with melted snow water "so that the evil eye would not have power". Catherine's holiday is almost not celebrated at present, and some of its elements have been transferred to Andrew's holiday.

The last group of winter pre-Christmas celebrations are represented by the holidays of St. Barbara and St. Anna as they symbolize the advent of Epiphany (commonly associated with water rituals). Primarily, it is expressed in the use of water as the main component in various types of divination, tradition of "*polaznyk*" as an omen of good and happiness for the whole household in the coming year, and also in the lunar symbolism of ritual dishes resembling fish in their shape as the primary sign of water symbolism. These holidays mark the beginning of Christmas preparations: women clean houses and redecorate the interior, men arrange farm buildings and property, provide food for festive meals, and girls organize groups

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for singing carols etc. In chronological terms all this provided harmonious transition from pre-Christmas weekdays to Christmas as the greatest holiday of the year.

Summarizing the above, it should be noted that the spiritual culture of Ukrainians is largely connected to their rites, customs and traditions that have survived to our days since ancient pre-Christian times. After the introduction of Christianity, beliefs in heavenly forces, in the Son of God Jesus Christ promoted and developed the traits of decency, hard work and humanity in the Ukrainian mentality and worldview. All that means loving your neighbor as yourself, community support and help, as well as protection from unwanted guests (enemies).

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE "SONG OF ROLAND" ON THE LEGENDARY ALBANIAN "SONGS OF THE FRONTIER WARRIORS"

MUHAMED ÇITAKU

ABSTRACT

The epic poem *The Song of Roland* has had an immense influence on European literature over the centuries, including on the ancient legendary Albanian songs, *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. The relation between these two epics has only recently been studied, and hence, it represents an insufficiently explored field. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to enhance the research with new findings. Using a comparative method, in this study, we depicted the impact of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* using different layers. These included the abilities of the main hero, the fighting, the cult of the horse, the cult of the weapon, the threat that comes from the sea, the Moor who is the same as the Saracens of *The Song of Roland*, the figure of the sun, the dream, the lament, and the introduction of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. By analyzing the influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, the understanding of inter-European interactions that took place in the past, and subsequently the reciprocal relations between cultures, is improved. *Keywords*: *The Song of Roland*, *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, hero, horse, sword, sun.

INTRODUCTION

The Songs of the Frontier Warriors are among the oldest songs in Southeast Europe, particularly in the Balkans. They are a series of songs about the deeds of two main heroes, Muji and Halili. The events are related to the various wars that these two heroes pursue in Jutbina and Kladusha (now Croatia and Bosnia), where at that point in time, was the border separating the two great world empires, the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. Through these two heroes, the songs portray the wars that the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire and the Catholics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire fought at the border point (Elsie, Mathie-Heck 2004, p. 5). This conflict is preserved by the Muslims under the Ottoman Empire in a group of songs called *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* (originally Këngët e kreshnikëve), which were songs about the frontiers (krajishnik slv. frontier). These

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songs have been preserved in only two nations that were then under the Ottoman Empire, by the Bosnians from Bosnia and the Albanians that extend to several countries, such as Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia. For a century, there has been a debate about which of these two nations created these songs and which borrowed them. The issue has remained at the level of hypotheses, completely unresolved because it has become a socio-cultural rivalry between the Bosnian and Albanian people, a competition about who can demonstrate a stronger argument for having created these songs to demonstrate cultural superiority over the opposite nation. In this study, we examine *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* sung by Albanians by investigating how they have been influenced by *The Song of Roland.*

Amongst the renowned scholars who have highly praised *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* and collected such songs are Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord, who gathered many of these songs in Bosnian and Albanian in Novi Pazar, and considered their rhapsodists as one of the last humanists in the world. These two authors based their theories on Homer, his verse, repetitions, and the manner of structuring events on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* and their rhapsodies, among which the most prominent is Avdo Međedović (Lord 1991, p. 57).

HISTORY OF *THE SONGS OF THE FRONTIER WARRIORS*

The conflict between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire on the Lika border where Jutbina and Kladusha were located, the setting of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, is not older than five centuries. Nevertheless, the origin of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* takes us to an earlier time as they have traces beginning in ancient times. This has led scholars to think that *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* were originally songs of pre-medieval heroes associated with the events of an early period. According to the theories, these songs later changed as an adaptation to new times, heroes, and events that represent the conflict of the last five centuries of border wars between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. This change was made possible by two important issues in these nations:

1) The great cultural changes that occurred when the Bosnian and Albanian people who lived around the border largely converted from Catholicism to Islam. This religious change also affected their folklore; the medieval-Catholic elements were removed from the songs, and new Islamic elements were added.

2) The second reason that enabled this change is related to the wars that followed because of border conflicts between Muslims and Catholics across the border, which were so intense that earlier events began to wither within the songs. Subsequently, the changes in the songs reflecting the new events were inevitable. Unquestionably, changing folklore to represent a new atmosphere is not limited to these nations. It is found in the folklore of many cultures and adaptations because new events are characteristic of folklore in general; everything folkloristic that does not adapt to time risks being forgotten and lost.

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EUROPEAN CULTURAL STRATA IN *THE SONGS OF THE FRONTIER WARRIORS*

Research on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* has demonstrated that European literature has influenced these songs from antiquity to the twentieth century. This long influence is realized through the ancient age of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* on the one hand, and on the other hand, by how active they were in Albanian culture until the end of the twentieth century, at the time when they were collected by Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord. Various features from the different centuries they passed through were preserved in the songs. From the earlier centuries, we find elements of magic, animism, along with the society organized through a matriarchal order, in particular the family of the main hero, Muji, which is led by his mother. There is also a layer of Greek Antiquity features, which highlights the role that mythology plays in these songs; this is similar to the role played by mythology in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. In *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, there are mythological characters called Zana, Orë, and Shtojzovalle, and similar to the mythology of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, the course of events and the characters' victory or loss during duels with opponents are determined by mythology. *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* have similarly inherited elements of Byzantine Acritic songs with which they have a similar name, as both are called frontier songs (acritic gr. frontier, and krajishnik for the Slavic for frontier). *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* likewise inherited various features from the Middle Ages. Initially related to this period, it is thought that a part of the ancient mythology in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* was combined with symbolism of third of the Middle Ages, such as the three fairies that are often found in these songs.

Scholars have also demonstrated that the influence of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* is also derived from Spanish literature, precisely from *The Poem of the Cid*, from which the Austrian albanologist Maximilian Lambertz argues that *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* borrow the figures of nature (Lambertz 1998, p. 77). According to Lambertz, this borrowing by *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* occurred somewhere between 1100–1200, which he posits is evident in from description in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* about nature, such as: "*the sun is shining brightly, and it is getting a little warmer, the night is gone and the day is not rising.*" Likewise, Lambertz notes that *The Poem of the Cid* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* both convey the border wars between Muslims and Catholics (Lambertz 1998, p. 77).

The Songs of the Frontier Warriors are also strongly related to *The Song of Roland*, which we will elaborate on more extensively at this point. From this overview of the relation between *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* and European literature from various periods, we realize that the interaction that these songs have with *The Song of Roland* is not the only interaction with European literature. The interaction between *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* and *The Song of Roland* is

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among the many relations that *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* have with other European cultural works and authors. Moreover, *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* are not the only part of Albanian culture that has interacted with other European cultures, and this is evident in all parts of Albanian folklore. Interactions with other European epics are seen in *The Sister with Nine Brothers*, which in Europe appears as *Lenore ballad*, and in the *Song of Rozafat* or the motive of human sacrifice, as well as in other legendary songs that are also found among European literature. Customarily, each interaction is unique and affects different layers; thus, the interaction between *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* requires a special approach.

The Song of Roland and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*

The features of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* that are the most appealing, and hence, draw the attention of scholars, are the ancient elements of these songs. Research on these features has often been conducted to prove the antiquity of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, and consequently, the antiquity of the Albanian culture. Features of later periods found in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, such as those of the Byzantine period, the Middle Ages, and later centuries, are the subject of later studies, which also include studies of the impact that *The Song of Roland* had on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*.

Initially, the relation between these two epics was seen as non-reciprocal and without a mutual relationship; however, The Song of Roland influenced The Songs of the Frontier Warriors. The influence is evident in the various layers of these songs, but the hypotheses lingered regarding how this influence appeared. One theory argues that the interaction was direct, as the rhapsodist knew *The Song of Roland*, and based on the model of this song, built several aesthetic categories in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. This is unsurprising, considering that *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* was inspired by more distant cultures, such as *The Poem of the Cid* in Spain. Another theory argues that the interaction between *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* occurred indirectly through mediating literature that served as a bridge between these two epics. According to this theory, this began with the influence of *The Song of Roland* on European literature over the centuries, which ultimately influenced *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, thus excluding a direct interaction between *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*.

However, the influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* is evident through several layers, among the most important being the potential of the protagonist of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, such as the duels, horse and weapon cults, danger coming from the sea, the Moor who is the same as the Saracens of *The Song of Roland*, the figure of the sun, the dream, the lamenting, and the introduction of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* (Sinani 2011, p. 19).

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Invariably, the similarity in the swords' personification in these two epics is very apparent as their acts are similar. In both *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, the swords of the heroes have the same qualities; they are distinguished by velocity, ingenuity, and capability to anticipate danger. Another quality of the heroes' swords is their endurance, as the swords of the heroes are stronger than those of their enemies in both epics. This similarity in the details between the swords encountered in these two epics is not accidental; it represents the influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* (Sejdiu 2019, p. 40). The difference between the swords in these epics is only in their naming, and so they are similar in essence but different in form. While the name of Roland's sword is *Durendal*, the name of Muji and Halili's sword is *Dimiski* (sword from Damascus).

It should be noted that in addition to the similarities in the fighting, there are also distinctions between the fighting in *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. The difference is that the institutional organizations found in *The Song of Roland* are not found in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. In *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, both the institution of the king and the leader of the army are missing, things that we have in *The Song of Roland*. The heroes of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* fight for the protection of their country in the classical sense, as they fight for the protection of pastures, houses, meadows, and whatever comprises their beloved country. For them, there is no concept of homeland, there is no concept of state, and there is no concept of fighting for a king. *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* does not include the concept of an army but instead features the knights, made up of 30 people, organized spontaneously to withstand the attacks of their opponents. This organizational form emerges not because of a decree from the king; instead, they are organized as a band of warriors (Sejdiu 2019, p. 38). Therefore, in *The Song of Roland*, we have the state, while in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* we have the tribe; in *The Song of Roland*, we have the army, while in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* we have the band; and in *The Song of Roland* we have the soldier, and in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, we have the hero who fights independently and not under the orders of a king. In this way, the war in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* is an individual war. The same applies to the duels analyzed above, and despite all these common elements mentioned, the difference is that the duels in *The Song of Roland* are distinguished by a military organization, while in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, the duels are individual (Sejdiu 2019, p. 38).

Nevertheless, along with the duel, other themes and characters are the same in these two epics. In both epics, there is a danger that comes from the sea, and finally, we have the Moor found in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, the opponent of the heroes, who is the same as the Saracens in *The Song of Roland* (Sinani 2011, p. 19).

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Other interactions between the two epics

The influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of Frontier Warriors* is similarly examined in other important elements of these epics, such as the images of the sun and the heroes' dreams and laments.

The sun in *The Song of Roland* plays the role of the character who listens and supports the king, and the king in this epic addresses the sun with a special request to never set. Comparably, the sun also plays a significant role in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. In some songs, the sun supports the protagonists, Muji and Halili; it takes care of them but also occasionally listens to them. Like the king in *The Song of Roland*, Halili in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* addresses the sun with the request not to rise, a request that the sun accomplishes so that Halili can arrive at night to meet the king (Berisha 2013, p. 233).

Additionally, dreams have similar features in these two epics as they warn of future events that will happen to the heroes, which are primarily misfortunate. Scholars at this point are not all in agreement because dreams also have this function in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. Accordingly, in addition to the probability of being influenced by *The Song of Roland* (Berisha 2013, p. 235), *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* are likely influenced by *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* (Lambertz 1998, p. 65).

Laments play a specific role in these two epics. *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* include many laments for dead characters; among which, the lamentations for Muji's son Omera, who died young and was mourned by his mother Ajkuna, stand out. This kind of mourning is also encountered in *The Song of Roland*, and there are many other similarities between the lamentations in these two epics. In both epics, the laments reveal the characteristics of the dead hero in the war, in the families, and in society, and in these elegiac dirges, great lines of grief are uttered (Lambertz 1998, p. 65).

Furthermore, the influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of Frontier Warriors* is also studied at the form level. Regarding the form, initially, both *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* have the same form in how the verses begin or end. Additionally, some elongated vowels, such as EEEE in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* and AOI in *The Song of Roland*, are similar. However, these vowels, which are sometimes at the opening and sometimes in the concluding parts of the verses, are not clearly defined. They may have been used as contempt or as a calling; they may have been used for disappointment, despair, and sorrow; but they may have also been used to pause the rhapsode using singing. However, the presence of these vowels at the beginning or the end of the verses indicates the closeness of these two epics (Sejdiu 2019, p. 30).

The repetition of different elements is another similarity in form of *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. This includes the repetition of the same questions between the characters and the same answers between them, which we find in both epics (Berisha 2013, p. 226). This also includes the decasyllable verses used in both *The Song of Roland* and *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* (Sinani 2011, p. 327).

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CONCLUSION

The Songs of the Frontier Warriors are old legendary Albanian songs with a very ancient history, evidenced by their old elements of magic, animism, matriarchy, and Greek Antiquity, the elements of which are the same as those found in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. While these songs were part of the lives of Albanian people until the end of the twentieth century, they comprise features of earlier times, starting from the Middle Ages, to the Ottoman expansion to Southeast Europe in the fifteenth century, to the features of the late twentieth century. From the presence of these features in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*, they carry a part of each period they pass through, each period engraving its own form, elements, culture, and literary aspects. These characteristics are distributed throughout the thousands of verses of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*; some are observed in the mythology of these songs, some are present in the themes and motives, some in the characters, and some in the artistic aspects of the form. Their study is of interest because deciphering the features of these songs can provide their source.

Throughout history, *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* have also interacted with *The Song of Roland*. The impact of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* touches on issues related to the character of the hero, the fighting, the cult of the horse and the weapon, and the danger that comes from the sea found in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. In this context, the sun has the same characteristics in both epics; it listens to the demands, dreams, and laments of the heroes. Nor should the influences that *The Song of Roland* has made on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* be omitted on a form level, such as the introduction and repetition in *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. Therefore, a comparative study that reveals the influence of *The Song of Roland* on *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors* makes it possible to understand the meaning and function of many features of *The Songs of the Frontier Warriors*. These features preserve much of their source, which provides a more extensive understanding of these epic poems.

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GEORGE VÂLSAN AS ETHNOGRAPHER

GEORGE-BOGDAN TOFAN

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to put build a memory of the efforts of the savant George Vâlsan during his later years and his activity in the city of Cluj, between 1919-1929. Besides the science of Geography, one of his main goals was to serve the "new science" of Ethnography, especially the creation and organization of the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, alongside the management of the Romanian Ethnographic Society of Cluj (1923-1927) and the geographic-ethnographic section of ASTRA (1920-1929). He is thus seen as a trailblazer, becoming fully aware that he will only accomplish his "ethnographic duties" if he surrounds himself with young individuals eager for knowledge and ready to answer his long term call, lauched ever since his studies in Berlin.

Keywords: people, identity, museum, "new science", sheepherding.

Photo 1. George Vâlsan. Portrait.
Source: Mihail Macri.

Gheorghe (or *George*) *Vâlsan* was born in Bucharest, on 21st January 1885, in a modest family – Mihail and Alexandrina, as their only son.

As his father constantly moved while working for the Romanian Railroads, his son started primary school in Iaşi, continued it in Craiova, where he also attended secondary school, which he graduated in Piteşti.

He graduated high school at Gheorghe Lazăr in Bucureşti, in 1903.

Between 1904-1908 he attended the courses of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy at the University of Bucharest, where one of his professors was none other than Simion Mehedinţi, who held Geography as well as Ethnography classes.

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He exhibited extraordinary qualities in terms of research and science, being active during typological geographic field trips, regularly organised by the Geographic Seminar[1]. Thusly, under the direct tutelage of Simion Mehedinţi, he proved to be one of the best students and was later awarded an assistant position at the Geography Department, a position held until his departure abroad (1911).

He further continued and widened his area of scientific expertise, mostly around the city of Bucharest and then across the entire Romanian Plain; during the summers of 1910 and 1911, alongside linguist George Giuglea, he conducted ethno-geographic research on the Romanian communities south of the Danube (Serbian Craina and Northwestern Bulgaria), later publishing *The Romanians of Serbia and Bulgaria – Settlement, age, number, appearance, economic and social conditions*[2], which proved highly beneficial at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference[3].

In 1911 he received a scholarship from the Romanian Geography Society to study in Berlin, where he attended the lectures of geographer Albrecht Penck as well as ethnographer Felix von Luschan. At the same time, he pleaded for an increase in ethnographic research in Romania, as he observed a total lack of interest in this matter, compared to our state neighbours which, "are all years ahead in the field of Ethnography and have long established and rich ethnographic museums"[4]. As the notion/word "Ethnography" was something of a rarity in those days, he decided to hold the same conference the following year in Bucharest (14th November 1912), in front of infantry school students, a lecture entitled *Our Ethnographic Duties*, published in the volume *For the Minds and Hearts of Our Soldiers*, Infantry Magazine Publishing House, series I, Bucharest, pp. 23-40, 1912.

Between 1913 and 1914, he attended the geography lectures and seminars of Emmanuel de Martonne in Sorbonne, applying for doctoral studies. Unfortunately he was unable to graduate as the First World War shortly errupted. Back at home, he dedicated his time to completing his PhD thesis (*The Romanian Plain. Contributions to Physical Geography*), defended in Bucharest, on 19 November / 2 December 1915, as the first Geography doctoral thesis in Romania.

Shortly after, he developed a *Titles and Works Memo* (1916), listing his entire scientific activity, in order to apply for a position at the Geography Department Faculty of Sciences in Iaşi, vacant following the death of professor Ştefan Popescu[5]. Several works survived to this day: *The Ethnography of Serbian Romanians* and *The Romanians of Maramureş*, published based on direct observations in the field, made during the year 1912.

[1] Mehedinţi, 1946: 173-174.
[2] Arion *et al.*, 1913: 13-27.
[3] Clopoţel, 1935: 51.
[4] Vâlsan, 1927: 4-5.
[5] Meruţiu, 1938: 3.

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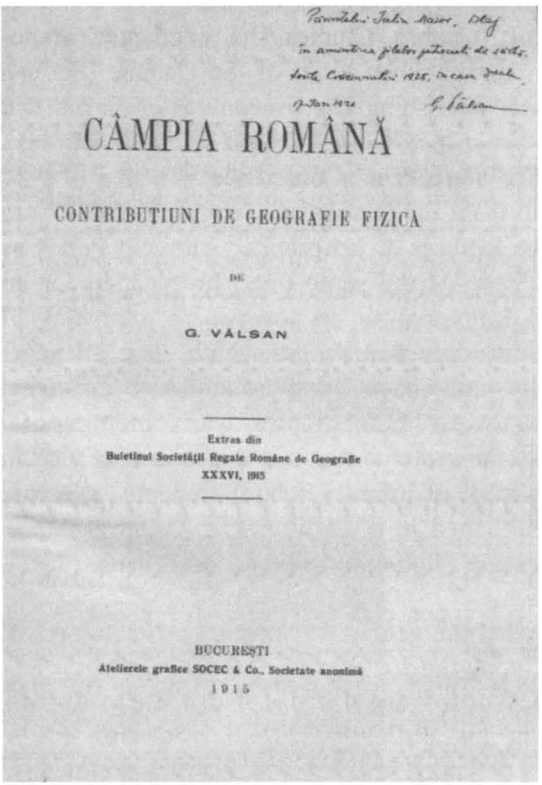
Furthermore, on 25th March 1916, a week before the competition in Iaşi, Gheorghe Kirileanu recommended his friend George Vâlsan to the dean of the Faculty of Sciences at the university on the banks of Bahlui River, Vasile C. Buţureanu, notifying him of the fact that "my friend George Vâlsan will apply for this position and he is one of the most pre-eminent young men I have ever known. We met on a trip to the source of the River Bistriţa and Maramureş. I had the priviledge of cherishing his distinguished character, deep patriotism, lively intelligence, rich knowledge, and accurate investigative nature"[6]. Besides the previously mentioned studies, there was also *Ethnographic readings*, unpublished however, never mentioned by Vâlsan ever again[7].


CÂMPIA ROMÂNĂ

CONTRIBUŢIUNI DE GEOGRAFIE FIZICĂ

DE

G. VÂLSAN

Extras din
Buletinul Societăţii Regale Române de Geografie
XXXVI, 1915

BUCUREŞTI
Atelierele grafice SOCEC & Co., Societate anonimă
1915

Photo 2. Facsimile of the autographed title page of George Vâlsan's doctoral thesis.
Source: author's personal collection.

Shortly after attaining the position in Iaşi (29th April 1916), with the war brewing, George Vâlsan was mobilized to Galaţi, within the 7th Hunter Battalion, but his stomach illness made him unfit for duty. His health further deteriorated the following year after the Ciurea railway accident and he was thus unable to continue his university lectures or conduct any further field research. His fighting spirit enabled him however to publish seven papers by 1918 as "professor at the University of Iaşi"[8].

As recognition of his scientific geographic and ethnographic merits, he was elected as corresponding member of the Romanian Academy on 5th June 1918, alongside his colleague, Constantin Brătescu, in the historical section, while on 21st June 1920, alongside another Romanian savant, Emil Racoviţă, became an active member of the Academy, consolidating the prolific activity of the 35 year old geographer, proving without a doubt that his work had been at the forefront of

[6] Kirileanu, 1977: 42.
[7] Onişor, 1971: 454.
[8] Mehedinţi et Vâlsan, apud Dimitriu, 1973: 271.

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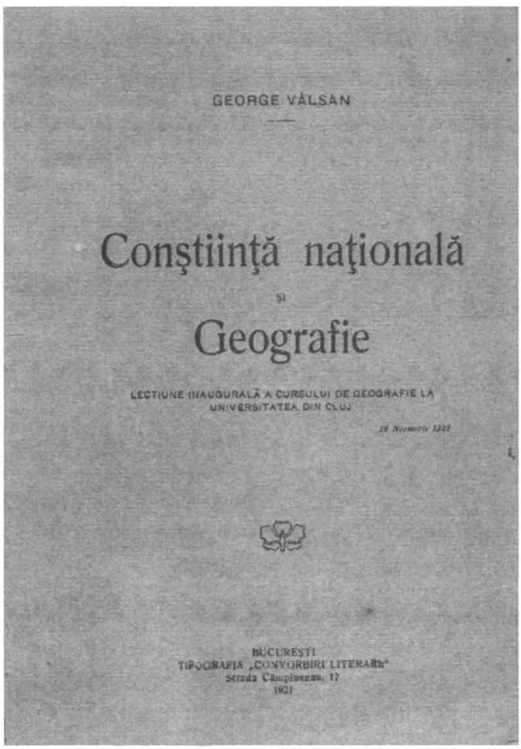
the "scientific movement"[9]. Due to his infirmity, he had rather limited activity within the Romanian Academy, with some ethnographic presentations such as *Dimitrie Cantemir's Map of Moldavia* (July 1924) and *The Lower Danube in the Life of Romanians* (October 1927), as well as several reports, like the one concerning the study entitled *Contributions to the medical ethnography of Oltenia*[10], authored by Dr. Charles Laugier, published in 1925 at the *"Scrisul Românesc"* Publishing House in Craiova. In a press excerpt[11], we discovered that this work was highly praised by the Romanian Academy, which is why, in 1927, its author was awarded the "Demostene Constandini" Prize consisting of 4,000 lei, George Vâlsan acting as raporteur.

The professional evolution of Vâlsan was at that time fulminant and in the autumn of 1919, a university board headed by Sextil Puşcariu and comprised of Onisifor Ghibu, Ioan Lupaş, Iuliu Haţieganu, Ludovic Mrazec, Vasile Pârvan, Dimitrie Gusti, Gheorge Bogdan-Duică, Nicoale Iorga, Victor Babeş, Petru Poni, and others decided to invite professor George Vâlsan to Cluj, in order to establish the Romanian geographic school within the University of Upper Dacia[12]. Furthermore, he was offered the position of tenure professor within the Faculty of Sciences, as well as professor within the General and Human Geography Department and director of the Institute of Geography.


GEORGE VÂLSAN

Conştiinţă naţională

şi

Geografie

LECŢIUNE INAUGURALĂ A CURSULUI DE GEOGRAFIE LA UNIVERSITATEA DIN CLUJ

BUCUREŞTI
TIPOGRAFIA „CONVORBIRI LITERARE"
Strada Câmpineanu, 17
1921

On 19th November 1919, he held the inaugural speech of his Geography class, named *National Conscience and Geography*, later published in 1921 as a 23 page brochure, at the *"Convorbiri literare"* Publishing House Bucharest.

Photo 3. Facsimile of the cover of the inaugural Geography lecture held at the University of Upper Dacia Cluj, 19th November 1919.
Source: author's personal collection.

[9] Analele Academiei Române, 1921: 113.
[10] Onişor, 1971: 455.
[11] Biserica şi Şcoala, 1927 (34): 5.
[12] Păcurar, 2019: 69.

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His speech perfectly conveyed a series of programmatic ideas regarding the role of several fields of study – Philology, History, Ethnography and Geography – in creating and shaping national conscience[13].

This research does not aim for a detailed presentation of George Vâlsan's role in handling the reorganisation of the entire geographic education in Cluj (staff management; supply of necessary material; establishment and promotion of scientific publications; creating relationships with prominent domestic and foreign institutions and scientists, fieldtrip organisation etc), but tries to focus on his lesser known ethnographic research and work. We believe that such qualities have been intentionally ommited by some "biographers" and successors at the helm of the Institute of Geography, a problem exacerbated by the passing of time, as stated by the renowned ethnographer Ion Muşlea, in his work *The Bio-Bibliography of George Vâlsan*[14].

A valuable information for our scientific effort has been discovered in a report of *Transilvania* magazine, year LII, July-August 1921, nr. 7-8, stating that, during the second plenary meeting of the scientific-literary departments of *ASTRA,* held on 15th July 1921 in Sibiu, its members decided to increase the number of active members from five to 15 for the eight sections, including the historical-ethnographic department. This last unit was comprised of the initial members Teodor V. Păcăţian, as president, Dr. Ion Lupaş, raporteur, Dr. Elie Dăianu, Vasile Goldiş and Nicolae Togan, while the proposed members were university professor George Vâlsan, Alexandru Lapedatu, Silviu Dragomir, Ioan Ursu, Nicolae Bănescu, Virgil Păcală and Virgil Şotropa[15].

Post 1918 Union, the Inspectorate for Transylvanian Museums had been pleading to the Sibiu Association for the creation of an ethnographic museum in Cluj ever since 1920, but only on 4 May 1922, the „Prince Charles" Cultural Foundation tasked professors Emil Panaitescu, George Vâlsan and Romulus Vuia with the establishment of an ethnographic museum in the city on the banks of Someşul Mic, starting from scratch as they lacked "any sort of artifacts, glass cases, staff, building, or even funds"[16].

In a letter dated 7th May 1922, addressed to the General Director for Arts, His Highness Prince Charles, Emil Panaitescu wrote that "regarding the proposals made for the establishment of the museum, we kindly ask Your Highness to organise a commission that will include, among others, Mr. S. Puşcariu, director of the Museum of Romanian Language, and Mr. A. Lapedatu, president of the Commission for Historical Monuments. This group should have the freedom to further include other members if deemed necessary. With Mr. Vâlsan currently abroad, it is imperative to form the

[13] Idem: 60.
[14] Muşlea, 1944 (3): 267-268.
[15] Transilvania, 1921 (7-8): 585.
[16] Panaitescu, 1928 (12-13): 241.

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commission in the manner previously stated. Mr. dl. Vâlsan will evidently also be part of this commission"[17]. This proposal clearly emphasizes that we are witnessing an enlargement of the commission by two additional members, as George Vâlsan was on extended medical leave abroad, most probably in Paris; therefore, the commission was fully legitimized on 1st June 1922 and Sextil Puşcariu was appointed president, while Romulus Vuia was appointed secretary. Vâlsan's absence was also noted in the report of the Association's scientific-literary sections meeting, held in Sibiu on 14th July 1922, when Vâlsan sent an apology letter, lamenting his inability to attend.

An elaborate plan for systematic exploration of some of the most important ethnographic areas of Transylvania was devised following several intense sessions, the first expeditions being organised by the commission secretary, at that time assistant at the newly established Institute of Geography of the University of Cluj. He conducted research in Haţeg and the Land of Pădureni, areas seen as "the estate" of his doctoral thesis, which was defended in 1924, under the direct guidance of George Vâlsan[18]. In fact, in a report written on 15th July 1920, George Vâlsan stated: "Prof. Romul Vuia presented me an ethnographic study on the land of Haţeg. It contained original content [...] alongside numerous drawings and remarkable photographs. [...] ...the study is superior to every other ethnographic paper published so far in Romanian. I believe this work of prof. R. Vuia is the best study of general ethnography I have come across"[19].

Another important role in the museum's continuing activity was played by the *Romanian Ethnographic Society*, created on 31st October 1923, its executive board being comprised of: George Vâlsan, president, who was in Paris at that time; Sextil Puşcariu and Vasile Bogrea, vicepresidents; Romulus Vuia, secretary and archivist, while George Oprescu worked as bookkeeper.

According to its statute, besides ethnographic and folklore, human geography and historical anthropology studies also needed to be conducted. Meetings were held monthly, with a series of speeches reports, as well as public conferences, later bound and published, either as anniversary volumes or periodicals.

In the second meeting presided by Vasile Bogrea, the participants read the thank you letter sent by Vâlsan, on 26th November 1923, which includes the following: "As long as I am physically and spiritually fit, I assure you that I will do my very best to respond this unanimous trust put upon me, the news bringing me joy and the soothing touch of an unexpected greeting. The Committee of the Ethnographic Society has so many people I respect and treasure, my shyness and reserve of this position dwindling at the thought that I will always benefit from the wise advice of some many experienced and well-versed friends. With great

[17] Bucharest State Archives, Royal Cultural Foundation, Department: Arts. Service. Museums; File 5/1922, f. 6.
[18] Pascu, 1973: 4.
[19] Onişor, 1966: 273.

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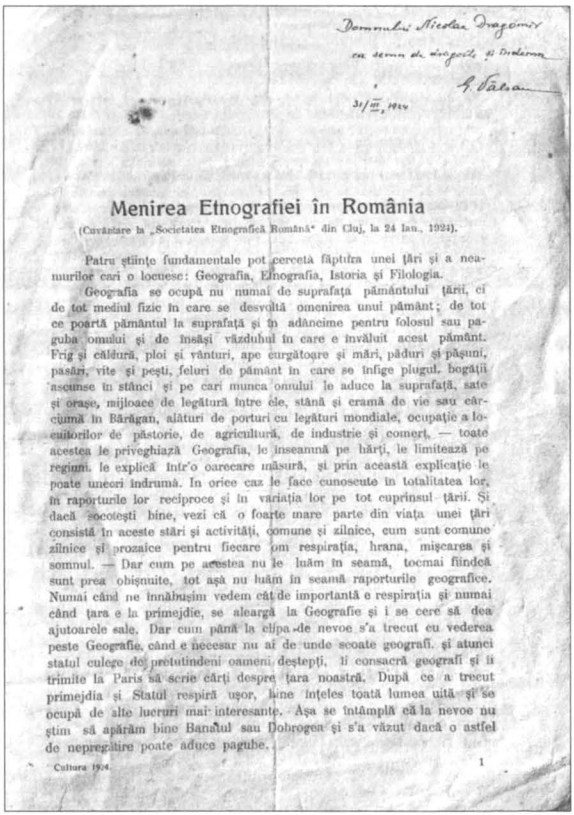
expectations of the future, I bid the first Romanian ethnographic society a long life and members devoted to ethnographic research"[20].



Domnului Nicolae Dragomir
cu semn de dragoste și frăție
G. Vâlsan
31/III, 1924

Menirea Etnografiei în România

(Cuvântare la „Societatea Etnografică Română" din Cluj, la 24 Ian., 1924).

Patru științe fundamentale pot cercetă făptura unei țări și a neamurilor cari o locuesc: Geografia, Etnografia, Istoria și Filologia.

Geografia se ocupă nu numai de suprafața pământului țării, ci de tot mediul fizic în care se desvoltă omenirea unui pământ; de tot ce poartă pământul la suprafață și în adâncime pentru folosul sau paguba omului și de însăși văzduhul în care e învăluit acest pământ. Frig și căldură, ploi și vânturi, ape curgătoare și mări, păduri și pășuni, pasări, vite și pești, feluri de pământ în care se înfige plugul, bogății ascunse în stânci și pe cari munca omului le aduce la suprafață, sate și orașe, mijloace de legătură între ele, stână și cramă de vie sau cârciumă în Bărăgan, alături de porturi cu legături mondiale, ocupație a locuitorilor de păstorie, de agricultură, de industrie și comerț, — toate acestea le priveghiază Geografia, le înseamnă pe hărți, le limitează pe regiuni, le explică într'o oarecare măsură, și prin aceasta explicație le poate uneori îndruma. În orice caz le face cunoscute în totalitatea lor, în raporturile lor reciproce și în variația lor pe tot cuprinsul țării. Și dacă socotești bine, vezi că o foarte mare parte din viața unei țări consistă în aceste stări și activități, comune și zilnice, cum sunt comune zilnice și prozaice pentru fiecare om respirația, hrana, mișcarea și somnul. — Dar cum pe acestea nu le luăm în seamă, tocmai fiindcă sunt prea obișnuite, tot așa nu luăm în seamă raporturile geografice. Numai când ne înăbușim vedem cât de importantă e respirația și numai când țara e la primejdie, se aleargă la Geografie și i se cere să dea ajutoarele sale. Dar cum până la clipa de nevoe s'a trecut cu vederea peste Geografie, când e necesar nu ai de unde scoate geografi, și atunci statul culege de prin tutindeni oameni deștepți, îi consacră geografi și îi trimite la Paris să scrie cărți despre țara noastră. După ce a trecut primejdia și Statul respiră ușor, bine înțeles toată lumea uită și se ocupă de alte lucruri mai interesante. Așa se întâmplă că la nevoe nu știm să apărăm bine Banatul sau Dobrogea și s'a văzut dacă o astfel de nepregătire poate aduce pagube.

Cultura 1924. 1

One of the most emotional meetings took place on 24th January 1924, chaired by its very own president, who read his famous *Purpose of Ethnography in Romania*, published two months later in a journal edited by linguist Sextil Puşcariu[21]. It appears that the original title of this presentation was *The Ethnographic Design in Current Day Romania*, according to the stipulations found in the end note of the *Romanian Ethnographic Society – Twenty Years of Existence* –, signed by geographer-ethnologist Teodor Onişor. Due to the lack of progress, he organised the conference once again in 1926, at Dej and Gherla, and finally published it in 1927, within *the Library of the geographic-ethnographic section of Astra*.

Photo 4. Facsimile of the lecture held at the *Romanian Ethnographic Society*, 24th January 1924, with autograph for geographer Nicolae Dragomir.
Source: Al. Păcurar, 2014, p. 218.

The following year, the conference hall of the Library of the University of Cluj, under the guidance of Vasile Goldiş and notary public Horia Petra-Petrescu, hosted the plenary session of the literary and scientific sections of the Association. The report of 22nd May 1925, published in *Transilvania*, Year 56, September-October 1925, Nr. 9-10, line 30, mentioned the fact that, following the efforts of professor, the history-ethnography section changed its name to geographic-ethnographic, being headquartered in Cluj, with a temporary committee including G. Vâlsan, president, and S. Opreanu, secretary and bookkeeper, and eight active members (V. Meruţiu, N. Orghidan, R. Vuia, I. Bârlea, I. Banciu, Tr. Gherman,

[20] Onişor, 1944 (1): 83.
[21] Vâlsan, 1924 (2): 101-106.

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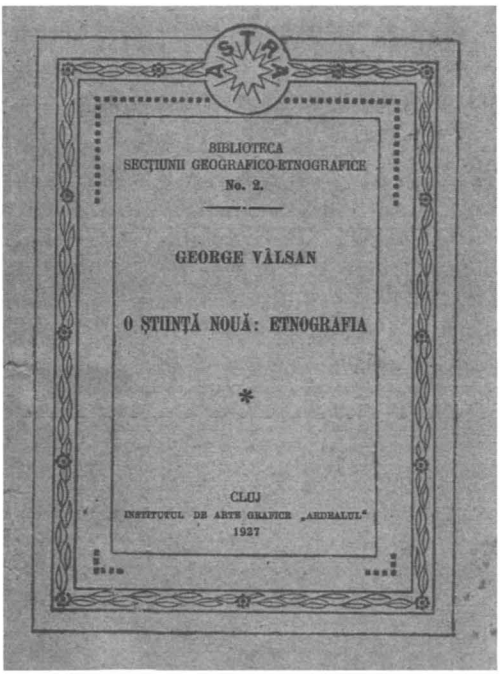
V. Branişte, and V. Păcală), as well as 13 corresponding members (C. Pavel, N. Dragomir, A. Florinescu, R. Călinescu, Tr. Magher, I. Mureşan, Tr. Simu, P. Suciu. I. Silaghi, I. Rodeanu, A. Ţiplea, N. Vornicu, and Al. Iosof).


BIBLIOTECA
SECŢIUNII GEOGRAFICO-ETNOGRAFICE
No. 2.

GEORGE VÂLSAN

O ŞTIINŢĂ NOUĂ: ETNOGRAFIA

*

CLUJ
INSTITUTUL DE ARTE GRAFICE „ARDEALUL"
1927

In his report, Vâlsan petitioned for the *Transilvania* journal to be published every month, criticising its technical aspects (format and lettering), as well as demanding each member of ASTRA an even more sedulous contribution, both in terms of publications and, lectures-conferences; he also announced the publication of 12 illustrated postcards with a ethnographic-geographic theme, as well as several monographs focusing on life in the geographic-historic province of Transilvania, all bearing the mark of the *«Geographic and Ethnographic Section»*. Another publication was included in the *1927 Association Calendar* - it was a speech given at a geography competition, entitled *The Land of Our Country*, pages 44-46.

Photo 5. Facsimile of the cover of George Vâlsan's Brochure, *A New Science: Etnography*, "Ardealul" Institute of Graphic Arts, 1927.
Source: author's personal collection

The fourth recommendation was for every member to regularly pay and subscribe to *Transilvania* magazine. This proposal must have been highly appreciated by those present, Onisifor Ghibu and Alexandru Borza stating that Vâlsan's example should be followed by the other sections as well.

At the end of the summer of the same year, a general meeting of ASTRA was summoned in Reghin, and a new committee was elected for the next five years, George Vâlsan being confirmed as president of the geographic-ethnografic section. His health problems however prevented him from attending and he sent a congratulatory telegram from Carmen Sylva resort (currently Eforie Sud), where he was under medical supervision[22].

1925 ended with an important meeting at the *Romanian Ethnographic Society*, where its president conferred the following: "Given the support of Minister Alexandru Lapedatu to our society, I propose for him to be declared an honorary

[22] Transilvania, 1925 (11-12): 609.

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member of the Society"[23], proposal unanimously accepted and voted by the participants. George Vâlsan also gave a fascinating lecture – *Dimitrie Cantemir as ethnographer.*

Another major event worth mentioning took place in 1926, when the geographic-ethnographic section gained its own library, *Library of the geographic-ethnographic section of ASTRA*, due to George Vâlsan hard work. He intended to publish a series of monographs of Romanian villages and cities, especially small regions, which would focus and illustrate the major problems of the Romanian lands and their people. But first, "pecuniary means must be found in order for these precious cultural contributions to see the light of day"[24].

The first three numbers contain the following: *The Szeklerisation of Romanians through Religion*, by Sabin Opreanu, an analysis of the delicate problem of Romanians in eastern Transylvania; the second number – *A New Science: Ethnography*, by George Vâlsan, comprised of the two fundamental lectures held in 1911 and 1924, emphasizing the value of written records and archive documents for the "new" science, as it "paints the icon of each ethnic group on this Earth, untangles their origins and sets to find the laws governing them. [...] A people is a force of nature, like a river or a storm. In similar fashion, sometimes it can unleash and destroy. And as such a force can be put in the service of man, so can the powerful forces of the people be directed towards higher and more noble goals, unattainable in any other way"[25]; in part two of the brochure, Vâlsan presented the scope of ethnography in Romania, petitioning for proper ethnographic studies, since everything "that is ancient culture in our lands might partially disappear without being studied"[26]; number 3 contains the monograph *The Hills and Fortress of Ciceu*, by Eliseu Sighiartău[27], where the human and geographic characteristics paint an almost complete view of the identity of Ciceu Land. The remaining five numbers were never published due to lack of funds.

One of the studies set to be published in the *Geographic-Ethnographic Library of a ASTRA* series, in the autumn of 1927, apparently belonged to one of George Vâlsan's most valued students, geographer-ethnologist Nicolae Dragomir. His magister sent him a letter on 15th April 1927, asking him to write a paper on the commune of Sălişte, "one that can be easily understood", even sketching his research plan: "Put extra thought in the following questions: What makes Sălişte different from other communes? What are the features that set it apart and make it appear so beautiful and interesting? How should one describe it so that others might know and love it? [...] Finally... think of her as your dear mother, who gave birth and cared for you, who deserves the reward of a work that shows the entire

[23] Onişor, 1944 (1): 85.
[24] Transilvania, 1927 (10-11): 546.
[25] Vâlsan, 1927: 11-12.
[26] Idem: 37.
[27] Transilvania, 1927 (5-6): 243.

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world your undying gratitude"[28]. Unfortunately, only one subchapter by Nicolae Dragomir was published in the *1927 Association Calendar*, Year XVI, Nr. 139, that is *Nedeea from Poiana Muierii* (pp. 127-135), part of the work *Sheepherding of Sălişteni*. His efforts resulted in a doctoral thesis, which he was unable to defend, while his thorough studies eventually earned him the George Vâlsan Award of the Romanian Academy in 1941[29].

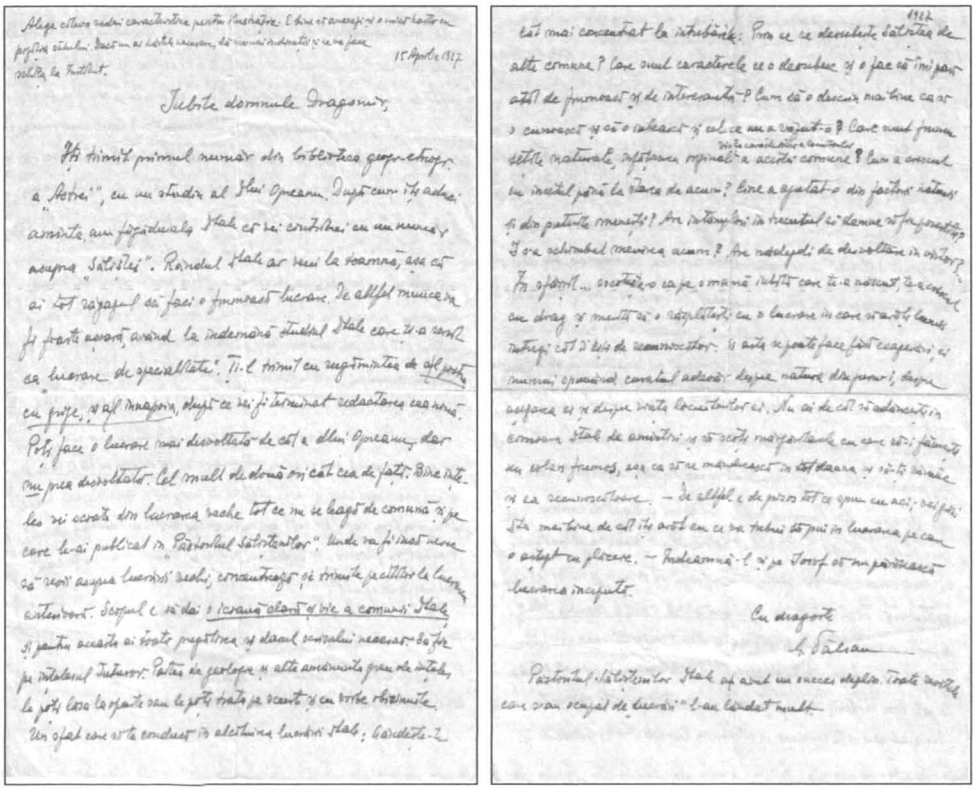

Photo 6. Facsimile of the letter written by George Vâlsan to professor Nicolae Dragomir on 15th April 1927. Source: Al. Păcurar, 2013, p. 212.

Despite efervescent attempts to live up to George Vâlsan, the last general meeting of the Romanian Ethnographic Society took place on 16th December 1926, as the lack of funds forced the society to close. The last speech of its president was *Remembering Vasile Bogrea*, a former vicepresident of the organisation. It was an emotional commemoration where Vâlsan declared: "Poor Vasile Bogrea passed away, little of body and great in science, the pride of the

[28] Păcurar, 2013: 212.
[29] Dragomir, apud Păcurar, 2014: 214.

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University of Cluj and the minuscule «Ethnographic Society» which he loved more than anything. [...] It is our duty for us to show what Bogrea meant for Romanian folklore and Ethnographic Society of Cluj – the first major attempt for a scientific research of the Romanian people, comprised of specialized ethnographers, geographers, philologists, historians and doctors, – a society whose activity was linked to Vasile Bogrea until the end"[30].

Most scientific and lectures during the four year run of the Romanian Ethnographic Society (1923-1927) were held by geographers and ethnographers, George Vâlsan having five: *The Ethnographic Design in Current Day Romania* (24th January 1924); *Old News about Serbian Romanians* (1924); *Geographic Elements in Our Fairytales* (21st March 1925); *Cantemir as ethnographer* (15th December 1925) and *Words on Vasile Bogrea* (16th December 1926). Unfortunately, in 1925, George Vâlsan resigned as leading coordinator, witnessing a certain disregard for the society's wellbeing. Optimist and confident by nature, he recanted on his decision and tried to bring to fruition some of the "ethnographic duties" of his generation[31].

One of his failures was the inability to publish a review under the society's aegis, named *Geography and ethnography studies and files*. He did manage to prepare an early print of its first volume, but financial issues prevented its publication[32]. Vâlsan's ethnographic activity included a lecture held on 11st October 1921 at the Museum of Romanian Language in Cluj, about *The Plan for Dictionary of Folk Geographic Terms*[33], followed by the ethnographic and geographic conference – *Dobrogea*, at Turda, Sibiu and Aiud (1925-1926), *Geographic and Ethnographic Aspects of the Land of Brăila*, March 1926, held at the "Petre Armencea" Library in Brăila[34]; *Dobrogea's Worth to the Romanian State*, September 1926, held at the newly established "Coasta de Argint" People's University of Balcic[35] and *What it means to be a Romanian?*, published in the *To read and pass around* brochure in 1927 at Sibiu.

The official consecration of the Ethnographic Museum of Cluj took place the following year (17th June 1928), an establishment which had already been inagurated long before, its director being Romulus Vuia, who was also the main tenure of the newly developed discipline of Ethnography at the University of Cluj. A lesser known fact is that the summary of the six points stated by the young Vuia was inscribed on cover number 4 of *A New Science: Ethnography* by George Vâlsan, a document of great value for the history of Romanian ethnography and museography. This brochure was gifted by Romulus Vuia to his colleague, Ion

[30] Vâlsan, 1931 (1): 3.
[31] Onişor, 1944 (1): 87.
[32] Vâlsan, 1971: 102-103.
[33] Dacoromania, 1921: 562.
[34] Universul literar, 1926 (13): 15.
[35] Universul literar, 1926 (38): 15.

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Vlăduţiu[36]. Evidently, with the dissolution of *Ethnographic Society,* the museum's viability was also questioned and, by the beginning of 1928, it was no longer a state funded institution. For that matter, a last query has been identified at the National Archives of Bucharest, Royal Cultural Foundation Fund, File 118/1929, pages 5, 6, 7. It was a memo submitted by George Vâlsan to the Ministry of Religions and Arts, dated 28th January 1928, a true plea for the necessity of the museum's continued activity[37].

We must not overlook Vâlsan's foray into the coordination of scientific doctoral studies on geography and ethnography, some of them true research benchmarks, such as: *Haţeg Land and Pădureni Region. Antropogeographic and Ethnographic Study*, 1924, by Romulus Vuia, the first geography-history doctoral thesis at Cluj Faculty of Science; *Land of the Szeklers. Human Geography and Ethnography*, by Sabin Opreanu, 1926; *From the Past of the Sheepherders of Sălişte and the Surrounding Communes*, by Nicolae Dragomir, 1926, unfinished; *Customs of the Brasov "Youngmen"*, by Ion Muşlea, 1927; *Pastoral Life in the Căliman Mountains*, by Laurian Someşan, 1934, and *Pastoral Life in the Rodna Mountains*, by Tiberiu Morariu in 1935. George Vâlsan also prophetically emphasized the ethnographic value of written records, including archive documents, mentioning the interdisciplinary link between ethnography and geography stemming from their methodology, and shared research methods (direct observation; descriptive, explanatory, selective, comparative, and cartographic methods). Thusly, he succeeded in implementing Ethnography as an independent discipline within the education curriculum at the geography section of Cluj Faculty of Science.

Following his transfer to the Physical Geography Department of the University of Bucharest (1st January 1930), George Vâlsan was listed in *Transilvania* (1931 and 1932) as rightful member of the Central Committee, losing his active role in the geographic-ethnographic section, which was at that time coordinated by the director of the Geography Institute of "King Ferdinand 1st" University of Cluj, Vasile Meruţiu, who promoted his hometown fellow Tiberiu Morariu as secretary and assistant at the Ethnographic Museum of Cluj. Alongside the two professors, other active members included Romulus Vuia, Traian Gherman, Petre Suciu, Virgil Vătăşianu, Traian Filipescu, and Ion Muşlea.

In early 1934, apace with the geographic-ethnographic section, the president of ASTRA, Iuliu Moldovan, deemed necessary to establish a new demographic and ethno-political section, coordinated by Silviu Dragomir, together with Sabin Manoilă, Sabin Opreanu, Lucian Bolcaş, Petru Râmneanţu, Ionel Moga, Ştefan Manciulea, and D.D. Roşca[38], with a program focused on an antirevisionist

[36] Vlăduţiu, 1973: 641.
[37] Sălăgean, 1999: 28-30.
[38] Transilvania, 1935 (5): 339.

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scientific activity at home and abroad, publishing for this intended purpose a review in French (*Revue de Transylvanie*).

In the summer 1935, George Vâlsan died on the shore of the Black Sea, at the Techirghiol Maritime Sanatorium (Carmen Sylva), at the age of 50, ending a prestigious scientific carrier spanning 20 decades.

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THE FOOD CULTURE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

Each of China's 55 different ethnic minorities has its unique diet and customs with special ethnic character and historical tradition in the content and form of "eating" and "drinking." In the composition of the Chinese diet, the diet and customs of ethnic minorities are an essential part. Chinese food enjoys a worldwide reputation, directly related to the fact that people of all ethnic groups living in the same region can learn from each other in terms of diet and customs and learn from each other's strengths to compensate for their weaknesses. It provides a good guarantee for improving the physical quality and health of all ethnic groups in China. The ethnic minorities have notable differences in the source and composition of food, processing and use of cooking utensils, cooking and eating customs, and etiquette. The dishes are rich and colorful, and the dietary concepts are in full bloom. The tastes and habits are various, and the customs and styles of hospitality are different.

Keywords: Food culture; ethnic minorities; unique diet; diet and custom.

INTRODUCTION

China is a multi-ethnic country with 56 ethnic groups. Traditionally, the 55 ethnic groups other than the Han ethnic nation, who make up 92.1% of the total population, are ethnic minorities. According to the seventh national census statistics, as of May 11, 2021, the total population of ethnic minorities in China is 125,467,390. Nine ethnic minorities have more than 5 million, including Zhuang, Manchu, Hui, Miao, Uygur, Tujia, Yi, Mongolian, and Tibetan. The Zhuang ethnic group has the largest population, reaching 18 million. The ethnic minorities in China, except for a few ethnic groups such as Russian, Tatar, and Tajik, are primarily ethnic groups of native origin belonging to the Mongolian race (Wang 2021). The geographical distribution of ethnic minorities in China has its characteristics as follows:

First, the ethnic minorities are widely distributed who can be found everywhere in the vast territory. In the eastern plain where the Han ethnic group

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lives, many ethnic minorities intermingle with them. Secondly, the distribution of ethnic minorities along the border areas is especially concentrated in the north, west, and south border areas. Yunnan Province, located on the southwestern border of China, has 25 minority nationalities (each with more than 5,000 people). The residential characteristic of ethnic minorities is that people of the same ethnic group tend to live together. Even if they are interlaced with the Han ethnic group on a large scale, they still gather together in the form of ethnic villages, ethnic townships, and even ethnic counties. They live in such a way so that they can maintain their ethnic characteristics well. Thirdly, the terrain of China is high in the West and low in the east. The distributions of minority ethnic groups are primarily on the plateau, mountainous areas, and grassland, and meadow terrain. As a result, nomadic and hunting-oriented production mode has been formed, which is quite different from the Han ethnic in the plain areas.

These significant differences between nature and humanity make the diet and customs of ethnic minorities very different, make the Chinese diet culture shine with great brilliance, and vividly reflect the other historical evolution processes of various ethnic groups (Tian and Chen 2019). It also supports one frequently used Chinese saying that is concerned with material factors is that "One sort of water and earth [local environment] breeds one sort of person" (yifang shuitu yang yifang ren 一方水土养一方人) (Lin and Waley 2021). By exploring the food culture of ethnic minorities in China, we intend to provide evidence to prove some scholars' findings that Chinese cuisines are complicated and diverse and share a distinct food ideology (Anderson 1988; Li and Hsieh 2004).

THE STAPLE FOOD OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

Staple food is the food that provides the primary energy needed by the human body. People accustomed to one staple food are usually not adapted to another. The staple food of ethnic minorities in China can be divided into two categories according to their geographical environment and production sources: grain-based and meat-based. The settled ethnic groups take grain as a staple food, while the nomadic ethnic groups take meat as a staple food (Li and Tian 2014). Most of the ethnic minorities in China belong to settled groups, and settlement is closely related to farming. Their primary food sources are rice, wheat, maize, and tuber crops such as potatoes, and sweet potatoes, mainly starch (Jiang and Tian 2019). Therefore, like the Han ethnic people, carbohydrates are also the primary source of energy intake for ethnic minorities in China. Restricted by water and heat conditions, the natural distribution of grain crops along the Qinling-Huaihe River line takes the form of "northern wheat and southern rice," which determines the staple food customs of southern minorities who like rice and northern minorities who prefer noodles. A few Mongolian, Tibetan, Kazak, and other ethnic groups who still maintain a nomadic lifestyle have gradually transitioned to grain, forming that grain and meat are mixed as a staple food.

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Noodles as the Staple Food

Northern minorities like to eat wheat and other miscellaneous grains. Cooked wheaten food can be divided into steamed bread and soup noodles. There are numerous patterns to enumerate, including noodles, pancakes, steamed buns, dumplings, soup noodles, mixed noodles, and other varieties.

Among the northern minorities who mainly eat pasta, the Hui ethnic people who believe in Islam live together with the Han people all over the country. Still, they maintain their unique eating habits no matter where they live, and their diet and customs are unique among many minorities. The Hui people avoid eating pork, dogs, horses, mules, and scaleless fish, as well as all animals dead in illness or abnormality. Because of the strict dietary taboos, there are Muslim restaurants owned by Hui ethnic people in almost every city and town in China, and their staple food is pasta. Lanzhou Qingtang Beef Ramen, which is famous all over the country, is the most characteristic popular snack in Hui staple food. It is the representative of Muslim soup noodles, which, among all famous national snacks, has won the "Golden Ding Award" three times as well as the "Muslim Famous Food" and the "Chinese Famous Snack Award."

Lanzhou Qingtang Beef Ramen, originally known as "hot pot beef noodles," was created in 1915 by Ma Baozi, a Hui ethnic man living in Lanzhou. Zhang Shu, a poet of the Qing Dynasty, once wrote a poem to praise Lanzhou Qingtang Beef Ramen. As he put it: Such delicious food is hard to renew as I go far away from my hometown. Sunrise recites the Sutra, and evening falls in the empty tower. I sigh when burning incense as I am looking only for beef noodles. It is not the five springs that enter the mountains, but nourishing one's mind is necessary (Ma 2017).

All noodles are hand-made, and the whole process is divided into five steps: selecting fine flour, adding flour without any harmful substances, and flour Agent, a kind of "fluffy ash water" made of plant ash. According to traditional methods, after noodles are blended, kneaded, beaten, and waked, the gluten protein in the dough is more extensible and elastic. Then the noodles were pulled by the noodle puller and made into noodles of varied sizes and shapes following customers' demand.

The best part of Lanzhou Qingtang Beef Ramen is its soup, which is made by boiling a specially treated beef with liver, bone, butter, in addition to more than ten different natural spices for a long time without any colored sauce. When a bowl of finished beef noodles is served, the customer can see the fresh soup juice, the white radish, the red hot oil, the green coriander, and garlic seedlings. That is the so-called "One clear, two whites, three reds, four greens, and five yellows" (一清二白三红四绿五黄) (Yan 2019). The noodles are with flexibility and bright-yellow infusion, which is smooth and refreshing. Soft beef is with tendons, long and harmonious flavor, and fragrance.

Therefore, such noodle is popular among people with its function of satisfying hunger and thirst and its cheapness and affordability, dubbed "Lanzhou Qingtang

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Beef Ramen" and promoted to the whole country, winning praise from customers domestically and internationally. The first "Lanzhou Beef Ramen Making Professional Ability Assessment Specification" in China has been approved by the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security. Lanzhou Beef Ramen has now become a brand of the Chinese diet. On August 6, 2012, "the China Lanzhou Beef Ramen Festival" was held in Lanzhou. The Chinese Cooking Association officially named Lanzhou "the land of Chinese beef noodles." In recent years, Lanzhou Jinding Beef Noodle Muslim Co., Ltd. has launched a series of beef noodles highlighting "clear soup, tender meat, gluten, and flavor" to promote the excellent Chinese dietary culture. The company was built by the fourth and fifth generations of Lanzhou beef noodles operators. Basing itself on the market, the company tapped the characteristics and conducted intensive scientific researches and innovations. It raises the quality of beef noodles to a new level, which has obtained high acceptance in the food industry and excellent customer praise (Ma 2017).

The Hui people's folk characteristic flavor food includes brewing skin, Ramen noodles, big brine noodles, meat fried noodles, tofu jelly, cow head scraps, and bastard noodles. Their favored foods are combined with the local characteristics of the inhabitants, for example, the famous Muslim Wanshengma pastry （万盛马糕点）in Xining City, Qinghai Province; Jinfeng stewed chicken （金凤扒鸡）in Shijiazhuang, and Baiyunzhang steamed buns （白运章包子）in Baoding, Hebei Province; Majia roasted wheat （沈阳马家烧麦）in Shenyang, Liaoning Province; Pita Bread Soaked in beef or lamb Soup（牛羊肉泡馍）in Xian, Shaanxi Province; Wengzi Tangyuan （翁子汤圆） in Changde, Hunan Province.

In peacetime and festivals, Manchu's staple food is called bobo（悖悖）(steamed bun), with a unique flavor and various varieties. Many of them are well-known throughout the country, such as soybean noodle steamed bun, suye steamed bun (苏叶包子), and sticky cake steamed bun （粘豆包). Soybean noodle burned bun is made by grinding rhubarb rice and millet into fine noodles and steaming with soybean noodles, which are golden, sticky, and delicious. Suye steamed bun is a mixture of sticky sorghum noodles and bean paste, steamed with suye wrapped outside, having a special aroma and unique flavor of suye (Folium Perillae). The sticky baked, steamed bun is made by steaming the flour of rhubarb rice after being soaked in some bean paste. It can be eaten fried or dipped in sugar, which is both sweet and fragrant. The rubbing-strip steamed bun is the predecessor of Saqima (萨齐玛), a traditional cake of Manchu ethnic people (Tian *et al.* 2018).

It was an essential offering of Manchu people in the past. So it is also called "beating-cake-median-strip." To make the rubbing-strip steamed bun, the cooked rice must be put on the cake stone, beaten repeatedly into the dough with a wooden hammer, and then dipped in the soybean noodles, rubbed into strips, fried, cut into pieces, and sprinkled with a thick layer of cooked soybean noodles. Later, instead of cooked bean noodles, white sugar became "sugar wrapped." Such a steamed bun

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is renamed Saqima, also known as Sugar Rong Cake (芙蓉糕). This steamed bun has good color, fragrance, taste, and shape and is loved by people (Liu 2020).

The Korean people break the rule of "northern wheat and southern rice." Though they live in the Northeast, they eat rice. The most famous traditional food of theirs is glutinous rice cakes and cold noodles. Glutinous rice cakes are made by beating steamed glutinous rice into balls, cutting it into pieces, sprinkling bean flour, and adding dilute honey and sugar. Cold noodles are made of buckwheat noodles with starch, water, and evenly formed noodles and, after boiling, cooled with chilly water, flavored oil, pepper, pickles, pickled beef, and beef soup are added to make cold noodles. They taste refreshing and delicious. Cold noodles are very particular about the taste of soup, so the saying "ten soups, three sides" shows that soup is even more critical than noodles themselves. The soup includes broth, bean juice soup, pickle soup, etc., among which the best is soup boiled with pheasant or beef. Seasonings include beef slices or chicken shreds, apple slices, egg shreds, sesame, sesame oil, chili noodles, green sauce, vinegar, flavor, and so on. Combining all these materials, cold noodles are sweet with an acid, spicy fragrance, refreshing, and delicious taste (Wang 2015).

Geographical Differences for Staple Food

The vast areas of southwestern China include most of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, Sichuan Basin, Qinba Mountains, and Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau. The corresponding administrative divisions are mainly Sichuan, Chongqing, Yunnan, Guizhou, and most of the Tibet Autonomous Region, where ethnic minorities live in large numbers, and the staple food customs are varied (Li and Guo 2004).

The Tujia, Buyi, Dong, Zhuang, and Shui ethnic groups distributed in the plains and valley of Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau mainly live on rice all year-round, including Indica rice and japonica rice primarily. In the history of Miao, Yao, Dong, and Zhuang ethnic groups, glutinous rice has been the leading food for a long time. Yi, Miao, Gelao, and other ethnic groups live in mountainous areas. Because they have only dry land, they can only grow potatoes, maize, and wheat, so their staple food is mainly wheat, maize, potatoes, buckwheat, and other coarse grains. Some ethnic minorities especially like rice, supplemented by wheat, maize, cassava, and potatoes. For instance, the Yao ethnic people (a typical mountainous ethnic group) mainly live in the mountainous areas in Guangxi, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Hainan provinces. They engage in mountainous agriculture, and their staple food is corn, rice, sweet potato, etc. They often add corn, millet, sweet potato, cassava, taro, and beans to rice porridge or rice (Li and Tian 2014).

Sometimes, they also use simmering or baking to process food, such as steaming red potatoes and other potatoes, simmering bitter bamboo shoots, roasted tender corn, baked rice, etc. During the farming period, the Yao people often have a picnic on the spot. They gather to share their dishes, with the staple food being rice dumplings and tubular bamboo rice, which are readily carried and stored in

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various places. In addition to rice, Baogu rice is the most common staple food for the Tujia ethnic group. Baogu rice is mainly made of Baogu noodles mixed with some rice and boiled in tripod pots or steamed in wooden steamers. Sometimes they also eat bean rice, which is cooked with mung beans, peas, and rice. Glutinous rice is mild and easy to stick into a ball. Long-term eating of glutinous rice and food made of glutinous rice nourishes and strengthens the stomach. Therefore, glutinous rice is also a favorite food of Guizhou minority people. After steaming the glutinous rice, add lard to fry in an iron pan. After cooking, the other prepared ingredients such as fried peanuts, shredded eggs, sausage slices, sour radish granules, sugar as stuffing are added as fillings to be kneaded into rice balls, which can be eaten directly (Tian and Chen 2019).

In Xishuangbanna, Yunan Province, Dai people usually use banana leaves to wrap glutinous rice with salt, hot pepper, sour meat, roast chicken, and mumi (Dai dialect, meaning sauce) moss pine. This type of food is convenient to carry. Young men and women of the Dong ethnic group take the "glutinous rice ball," which can be eaten anywhere as a social gift and food. On the days of Gan'ao (赶坳), girls will bring glutinous rice balls to their lovers for reunion and beauty. The bamboo cake is a representative glutinous rice food. It is made by soaking glutinous rice and then steaming it with a steamer. After it is fully absorbed and expanded, it is then poured into a treadle-operated tilt hammer to the hull until it does not show rice grains and then is rolled into cakes of different sizes. Besides being eaten at home, this is also a good gift for relatives and friends during the Spring Festival (Fang 2007).

Yi, Miao, Gelao, and other ethnic groups mostly live in mountainous areas and cultivate dry land. They can grow potatoes, maize, wheat, and so on, so they have cereal, maize, potatoes, buckwheat, and other coarse grains as their staple food. A folk proverb circulating for a long time in Guizhou shows that the natural conditions in Weining and Bijie are poor, and the ordinary family can only live on buckwheat. The wise Yi people, however, make delicious buckwheat crisp with Tartary buckwheat. It is said that Buckwheat Crisp was a birthday cake created by Lady Shexiang, a female leader of the Xiyi nationality in the early Ming Dynasty, to offer to Zhu Yuanzhang, the Taizu of the Ming Dynasty who claimed great praise after tasting it.

The process of making buckwheat crisp is to sift out the fine powder of Tartary buckwheat flour and mix it with brown sugar, vegetable oil, eggs, and a small amount of alum, soda, and alkali. The filling is made of beans, brown sugar, cooked vegetable oil, cooked lard, sesame, roses, melon strips, and so forth. The filling is wrapped into the buckwheat flour and pressed into shape before being baked in the oven. Buckwheat crisp is fragrant, crisp, and delicious with gold color. Its varieties include Xisha, sugar, crystal, ham, and so on. With its unique flavor, buckwheat crisp is welcomed by consumers and has become an exceptional food of the Yi ethnicity (Song and Long 2019).

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As the staple food, another most common way of eating rice is rice noodles. Rice noodle is a unique food in Yunnan which ethnic minorities in Yunnan like very much. Rice noodles, made of rice flour mixed with an appropriate amount of potato flour, are rich in carbohydrates, vitamins, minerals, and enzymes. The noodles are delicate and ripe, resistant to boiling, and rotten. The soup after boiling is not turbid. It tastes delicious and tender, tough but easy to digest, especially suitable for hot pot and leisure fast food. People often say that a trip to Yunnan without eating "cross-bridge rice noodles (过桥米线)" is equivalent to a journey in vain. Cross-bridge rice noodles are a unique local snack with rice noodles and other foods added to the cooked chicken soup. It originated from Mengzi, a key town in southern Yunnan, where Han, Yi, Miao, Zhuang, and Hani ethnic groups live together.

Legend has it that a scholar lived there, studying on a small island in the heart of a lake in Mengzi South Lake. His wife would deliver meals to her husband through a small stone bridge every day. One day, the wife thought her husband studied so hard, so she stewed a fat and strong hen, put it in a jar, ready to deliver meals to her husband, but due to temporary accidents, it was not delivered on time. When she finished making the meal, she found that the soup pot was still warm. She noticed that a thick layer of butter covered the soup noodles that played the role of insulation. So she crossed the path and took the stone bridge to her husband. After soaking the rice noodles in the hot chicken soup, she immediately took them out and put them in a bowl. The scholar ate them with great satisfaction, and later, he passed the imperial exam. People named this kind of food "cross-bridge rice noodles" over 100 years ago to praise the virtuous wife (Wang 2002).

The cross-bridge rice noodles are made from rice noodles, soup (made of chicken, pork ribs, and pork bones), and ingredients (cooked chicken oil, MSG, pepper noodles, raw meat slices, peas, pea, tender leeks, spinach, tofu peel, soy sauce, chili oil, etc.), which are cooked respectively. When people want to eat, these materials are mixed, such cooking style and method of food are constantly improved, and innovated through the past dynasties. Well-made, with a growing reputation at home and abroad, it has become a famous snack in southern Yunnan. It is the top grade of rice noodles. Now there are thousands of rice noodles shops in Mengzi. Rice noodles are easy to make, white and crystal in color, soft and smooth in taste, not hot and humid, not dry. They are a kind of delicious snack for people of all ages. The soup is made of cooked lard, red oil, ginger, garlic juice, soy sauce, and vinegar served in a large bowl. Hot rice noodles, fresh vegetables or fried cattle, and mutton are put into eating. Rice noodles, especially the takeaway rice noodles, are more sophisticated in producing soup juice, with Huaxi Wang's beef noodles and Shuicheng mutton being the most famous (Cheng and Yu 2017).

Shezu people live in Fujian and Zhejiang, and Taiwan Provinces have unique staple foods, such as rice dumplings (folk name Rongjiao), black rice (the seasonal food on March 3 Festival). It is shiny black rice cooked with sticky rice soaked in

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the juice after tamping the tender leaves of the black rice tree. It is said that if you eat black rice, you will not be afraid of ants biting.

The Tibetans living in the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau live on "Zanba" （糌粑）as their staple food. Zanba is a food made from the flour of fried highland barley. When eating, Tibetans mix it with butter, cream residue, and sugar, knead it into a ball by hand, and swallow it with strong tea or milk tea. Zanba is easy to store and carry and very convenient to eat. So in Tibetan areas, especially in pastoral areas, Tibetan herders with sheepskin bags, which are used to carry Zanba, can be seen everywhere at any time. They seldom eat other food products except for Zanba.

The characteristic staple food of Qinghai Sala nationality includes oil fragrance, wonton pot steamed bun, cold noodles, rough bulk rice, stirring, boiling rice, etc. "Oil fragrance," that is, oil cakes, are fried by every family on every Eid al-Fitr, Gurban Festival, and other festivals. These families fry such oil cakes for their meals and as gifts to each other. When there is a memorial to the deceased or a jubilant wedding, fried oil fragrance should also be used to respect ancestors and follow the customs. Oil fragrance is regarded as a food symbolizing sincere faith by Islamic people, who will give it a gift to relatives, friends, or imams. It has now become the traditional holy food of Muslims, a symbol of solidarity, friendship, and happiness. "Wonton pot steamed bun," that is, a kind of steamed bun baked in wonton pot. The wonton pot is a round cast iron product, divided into two halves, the upper half is the pot's lid, the lower half is the pot's body, and there are buttons between the two (Samantha and Hu 2019).

When making a wonton pot steamed bun, the first step is to place the wonton pot in the hearth fire or hot red earth, then put the wheat noodles or barley dough into the pot and then put wonton pot into the hearth to bake for more than 20 minutes. The steamed buns made in this way are golden in color, crisp in the outer layer, crispy in the Inner layer, sweet and delicious, easy to carry, and durable to store. "Cold noodles" refers to noodles made by such a process: After mixing the dough on the large case board, roll the dough flat with a rolling stick about 1-meter long. When proceeding to a certain extent, move the rod into it, wrap it tightly with the face, and push it out repeatedly with the hand. After a few times, spread it out, sprinkle a proper amount of flapping surface, roll the rolling stick into it from another direction, do the roll-up operation, and then unfold it and spread the flapping surface. Repeat such a process several times until the dough is rolled into a "large sheet" with the size of about one square meter. Then cut the rolled noodles into thin strips with a knife, and divide them into bunches of small handles. Boil them in a boiling water pot for about 3 minutes. Remove them, and put them on the board. Mix them with cooking oil while they are hot and evenly (Han *et al.*, 2017).

Cold noodles have no soup, so they can also be used as dry food when going out to work. They are convenient to carry, delicious, and affordable, and well-received by the Salar people. Among them, "Qiaohua De" is a Salar dialect, meaning that after heating the oil in the frying spoon, stir the onions, and put them

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into the stir-fried diced mutton to make soup. "Loose rice with bean flour" refers to rice made by: boiling water in an iron pot or boiled water after boiling the potatoes, and then gradually add bean flour into the boiling water, and stir while sprinkling until it becomes a thick paste of rice porridge, which can be served in a bowl, and eaten with vegetables.

Buckwheat flour can also be used for bulk meals. "Mixing dough" can be made the same as bulk rice. When eating, people can put it in a bowl and pour in "Qiaohua De," with hot sauce, garlic paste, vinegar, and so on, which is very delicious. "Cooking" is made by boiling mutton soup with radish, mushrooms, noodles, potatoes, cooked meat, meatballs, tofu, rape, garlic seedlings, and other ingredients. "Salad buns" are steamed buns with the shape of dumplings made of dead-faced wrapping stuffing (including leek, radish, tofu, black fungus) on the surface of which are poured oil before eating to make the surface of the bun bubble. It plays the role of appetizer and vitamin supplements (Song and Long 2019).

Predominantly Carnivorous

The most common staple food of nomadic people in China is hand-grabbed mutton. The practice is to slaughter the fat and tender sheep, open the stomach, peel off the skin, remove the viscera, wash them, remove the head and hoof, unload the whole sheep into several large pieces and boil them in clear water. When the meat is boiled, they take it out, put it on the table on a large plate without chopsticks, and grab it by hand, and this is why it is called hand-grabbed mutton. It is served on the plate after cooking in plain water without oil explosion, adding various spices, and other things, such as hand-grabbed meat, that have no good appearance when looked at from the outside. However, this is precisely what it is unique about. It keeps mutton fresh and tender.

In addition to sheep meat, Mongolians also eat beef, goat meat, camel meat, and a small amount of horse meat. Yellow mutton is also hunted and eaten during the hunting season. The most common way to eat mutton is hand-grabbed mutton. In addition, there are more than 70 kinds of traditional eating methods, such as whole-lamb feast, tender-skinned whole-lamb feast, cured whole-lamb dinner, roast lamb, roast lamb heart, fried mutton belly, braised mutton, and so on. Among these eating methods, the most distinctive is the Mongolian roast whole sheep (after peeling off), oven-roasted natural sheep with a skin called Alashan Roast Whole sheep (He 1993).

Many nomadic people in China, such as Uygur, Kazakh, Uzbek in Xinjiang, and even many Mongolian herdsmen in Inner Mongolia, have settled down gradually in modern times and began their farming life. Their staple food has tended to be replaced by grain gradually. Uygur people eat three meals a day, which are mainly made of wheat flour. There are dozens of kinds of staple foods in their daily life. The most common varieties are steamed bread, grabbed rice with mutton, steamed buns, noodles, and so forth. However, the tradition of eating beef

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and mutton is still distinct. There is a custom of "no meat, no meal." For example, the most famous "grabbed rice with mutton" comes from "hand grab mutton" (Adaleti 2010).

Grabbed rice with mutton is the Chinese name of a kind of food with ethnic characteristics. It is called Borau (originally Persian) in the Uygur language, meaning mixed braised rice with mutton, rice, carrots, and vegetable oil. It is a traditional food that all ethnic minorities in Xinjiang, especially Muslim people, like to eat. The making process is as follows: firstly, the mutton with bones is cut into walnut-sized pieces, fried in clear oil, then carrots, onions, and seasonings are added, together they are stewed to about half-maturity, the washed rice is put on the meat, soaked in water, and braised in gentle fire, sometimes dried apricots, raisins, and other ingredients are added, with thin-skinned steamed buns, accompanied by milk tea, and roast meat, which makes the food have more national characteristics, and local flavor. Such food is a product of the combination of nomadic people and farming culture. Carrot is the core of the grabbed rice, commonly known as "Xinjiang Ginseng," Many people call it "Radix Ginseng," It has the functions of invigorating Qi （气）(air in the body), promoting blood circulation, generating Jin （精）(the fundamental substance that maintains the body's functioning), quenching thirst, calming the mind, and improving intelligence. Onion is an indispensable condiment in grabbed rice. It contains many proteins, amino acids, sugar, mercaptan, dimethyl disulfide, trisulfide, and other ingredients (Wang 2018).

Pharmacologically, it has the functions of dispelling wind, sweating, relieving exterior symptoms and swelling, treating cold, headache, stuffy nose, stroke, swelling of face, and dysentery. Therefore, mutton grabbing is also a very nourishing food. In Uygur, Uzbek, and other minority areas, grabbed rice with mutton is necessary to entertain relatives and guests during essential occasions such as the New Year celebrations, weddings, funerals, and marriages. The guests sit around the table with a clean napkin on top. Then the host will take the dishes in one hand and the pot in the other, let the guests clean their hands one by one, and hand them a clean towel to dry. Later, the host will bring a few plates of grabbed rice with mutton and put napkins on them. The typical custom is that two or three people share one container. The guests will grab directly from the plate. The food is named "grabbing rice," which retains the custom of holding food by hand. It reflects the combination of animal husbandry and agriculture (Adaleti 2010).

NON-STAPLE FOOD OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

Non-staple food is meat, fish, and vegetable food intake to supplement and improve the nutritional composition of staple food and enrich the variety of dietary food. From the point of view of chemical balance, the main component of grain is a carbohydrate, which is acidic in chemical characteristics. It also needs to be

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supplemented and perfected by alkaline foods rich in protein, fat, vitamins, and inorganic salts, such as meat, beans, and vegetables. Staple and non-staple foods should be matched to complement each other's strengths and weaknesses to maintain chemical balance in people's bodies and promote human health. There are many kinds and varieties of non-staple food, and the selection and processing of non-staple food of different ethnic groups are disputed, which has become the most splendid part of the dietary culture of ethnic minorities in China (Li and Tian 2014).

The word "Qingzhen" (meaning Halal Food) has existed since ancient times. Lu You, a famous poet in the Song Dynasty, said in "Appreciating Plum in Garden": "After reading all kinds of flowers in spring, I found this one has a unique flavor (Qingzhen)." "Qingzhen" here means noble and elegant and has nothing to do with Islam. The Hui ethnic make their foods based on their understanding of the Islamic doctrine: "if the basis of the teachings is clear, it is clean; if the basis is true, it is right; when the basis is clean, there is no dust, and dirty things; when the basis is true, it is unstained," and that "Allah has no sole respect, so-called halal." Therefore, the "Muslim diet" can be interpreted as the "Islamic diet," According to the doctrine, the raw materials of Muslim dishes must be kept fresh and clean (Lan and Tian 2015).

The edible animals mainly include ruminant grass-eating animals, cereal-eating poultry, scaly fish, shrimp in oceans and rivers, etc. Their cooking techniques can be used for reference, and developed in the Han cuisine, such as grilled meat strips, shallot-fried meat, and pot-collapsed mutton in Beijing Muslim cuisine. Since 651 A.D. (the second year of Tang Yonghui reign), many Islamic people from Central Asia have come to China to do business and deal in jewelry. Restorative materials, spices such as bean curd, pepper, fennel, cinnamon, and so on, have greatly enriched the connotation of Chinese cooking with taste as the core and gradually helped form the characteristics of the Hui diet. The proportion of beef and mutton in the dishes is very large, related to the Islamic dietary ideas and the advocacy of "tasty food," Healthy food is pure, with a good appearance, a delicious smell and taste, and rich nutritional value. Take sheep as an example. They are gentle and clean. Their meat is delicious, which also has nourishing and therapeutic effects on the human body. Mutton contains minerals such as protein, fat, vitamins, and minerals such as calcium, phosphorus, and iron (He 1993).

Eating mutton frequently can stimulate people's appetite, strengthen strength, disperse coldness, and help to prevent kidney deficiency. The most distinctive part of the rural Hui diet in Northwest China is the "nine bowls, and three rows" folk banquet, which is usually used to entertain a substantial number of guests, and relatives at the wedding and funeral ceremonies. Many Halal banquet dishes prevailing in southern Ningxia are also well-known throughout the country. "Wuluo" means that five kinds of stir-fried dishes are served at the same time, "Four Seas" means that four types of dishes with soup are done at one time; "Jiukui," "Thirteen Flowers," and "Round moon on the fifteenth" are respectively

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the good words of nine bowls, thirteen bowls, and fifteen bowls of dishes. Sweet food occupies a specific position in the daily fare of the Hui ethnic people. Many famous dishes of the Hui people are prepared with the Arab Muslims' preference for sweet food. These foods include cold cakes, cut cakes, fermented grains of eight coarse bowls of cereal, sweet twist, sweet steamed bread, steamed bread, rice cake, and persimmon cake (Wang 2017).

Milk is an indispensable non-staple food for nomadic people, and dairy products are regarded as high-quality treasures. The Mongolian people call dairy products "Chaganyide," which means holy and pure food, namely "white food." The food made from meat is called "Ulanyide," or "Red Food," In addition to ordinary milk, Mongolian people also eat goat's milk, horse's milk, deer's milk, and camel's milk. A few of them are fresh milk drinks, while most are processed into dairy products, such as yogurt, milk tofu, cream, cream residue, cheese crisp, milk powder, and so on. More than ten kinds can be eaten at dinner, and they can also be used as snacks for both old and young people. If there are visitors, first of all, dairy products should be offered, and when children come, they should also apply the surface of the milk or cream on their foreheads to express good wishes (Tian and Chen 2019).

"Panax notoginseng " (三七) is produced in the areas where the Zhuang ethnic people live together, a traditional and precious traditional Chinese medicine. Panax notoginseng has the effect of dispersing blood stasis to stop bleeding, reducing swelling, relieving pain, and the prevention, treatment, and health care effect in treating cardiovascular and cerebrovascular diseases and maintaining the physiological balance of the body. It is known as "Jinbuhuan" (so invaluable that it will not be exchanged even by gold), and "Shencao (the God grass) of Southern China." Zhuang ethnic people are proficient in the flavor and functions of "Panax Notoginseng," The food and therapeutic dishes they cook using the flowers, leaves, roots, and mustaches of Panax Notoginseng are used very distinctively (Zheng *et al.* 2008).

There is "Panax notoginseng" steamed pot chicken, Tianma (天麻) steamed pot chicken, Cordyceps Sinensis （虫草）steamed pot chicken, and other nourishing dishes with a unique flavor. Yanshan County, located in the southeastern part of Yunnan Province, is known as the "township of Notoginseng in China," Notoginseng Steamed Pot Chicken is a famous dish of local flavor in this area. When making this dish, firstly, the delicate roots of Panax notoginseng are soaked in clear water and washed and put into the clean chicken abdomen. Such chicken pieces are placed in a steam pot with seasonings. Then this pot will be placed in a sand pot containing 45 kg of water. The contact points of the two pots are sealed and stewed in an intense fire for three or four hours until the chicken is cooked and the meat and bones are separated. The chicken stewed has the original taste, delicate fragrance, and sweet soup juice and has a nourishing effect.

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Dai ethnic people live in hot and humid areas in Southwest Yunnan with a wide range of insect species. It is an integral part of Dai ethnic people's food composition to use insects as raw materials (cicadas, bamboo worms, spiders, turtles, ant eggs, etc.) to make various dishes and snacks with unique local flavors. Dai ethnic people, in general, like to eat ants' eggs. They often eat that of a kind of yellow ants nested in trees. When they take ants' eggs, they first drive the ants away and then get their eggs. Ant eggs vary in size. Some are big as mung beans. Some are as small as rice grains and white and bright. After being washed, and dried, stir-fry them with eggs. It tastes delicious. Such food can be eaten raw and cooked and used to make the sauce and mix with eggs and fry. Sour fruit, balsam pear, bitter bamboo shoots, and pepper are often eaten by Dai ethnic people, supplemented by wild pepper, coriander, garlic, citronella, and so on, are also clean and hygienic, and healthy with pure flavor (Fang 2007).

The Hezhe ethnic minority people live by fishing in the Heilongjiang Province of Northeast China. They like raw fish. They treat their distinguished guests with a raw fish banquet. "Killing raw fish" and "raw fish shavings" are famous dishes of their food. Fish roe, gill, crisp fish bone, fish nose, shark fin, and fish belly can be eaten directly after supplemented with oil, sauce, vinegar, salt, and raw vegetables such as potato shreds and beans sprouts. Jingpo ethnic people in the South of China are accustomed to pound raw fish directly into meat paste and salt the raw fish into the fish sauce (Ma and Tie 2017).

The feast on Luoba ethnic people's banquet is rat meat. The wild rat, which haunts the mountains, is nearly a foot long, weighs about one kilogram, and has a round, slender body. At ordinary times, the Luoba people can causally hunt and eat such rats. However, as the Spring Festival is coming, they store dried rats for guests. When the guests arrive, the host will put the dried rats on the rod, shave off the hairs, throw away the viscera, cut them into small pieces, and stew them in a stone pot with seasoning. The meat is tender and delicious. There are also Li ethnic people (who eat gopher, vole, and squirrel), Dai ethnic people (who eat bamboo rat), and some Miao ethnic people in the Yongxi area of Zhenyuan County, Guizhou Province. They drink wine with rat meat as a delicacy to treat their guests (Li and Guo 2004).

UNIQUE DINING UTENSILS

Chinese diet pays attention to "color, aroma, taste, shape, and utensils," It shows that food and utensils are inseparable. Gourmet food must be equipped with utensils to show its perfection. Cooking and tableware are essential components of Chinese dietary culture, reflecting the national dietary etiquette culture and national development. In the early years of Chinese history, when people ate raw food, they did not use cooking utensils until entering the age of cooked food when they learned to use fire to process food. They needed to use cooking utensils to process food and use food utensils. The earliest cooking and

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utensils were generally made of stone. Later, wooden and pottery utensils came into being. The emergence of smelting technology made copper articles appear on the table. Smelting iron requires a higher melting point, higher technology, so iron cookers were the latest to appear. The use of utensils is also closely related to the mode of production (Jiang and Tian 2019).

The settlement life of farming nationalities promotes the fine development of eating utensils. The local folklore story portrays the rapid growth, complexity, variety, and exquisite beauty of the kitchen utensils of the settled nationalities. The dietary utensils of nomadic people need to adapt to the migration life and experience the galloping, and turbulence on horseback, so they are durable, light, and portable. All these show the development and evolution of cooking utensils and tableware from material to form, reflect the productivity level and production mode of human society, and are symbols of the human diet and civilization progress.

The Dai, Hani, Lahu, Blang, Yao, and Jinuo ethnic groups in China use modern tools such as electric cookers while retaining their arched pots and steamers. Their traditional ranges are slightly like wooden barrels outside, but the bottom of the cone is made of bamboo bars. These cookers are slightly arched inward and upward with many small tiny holes for steaming the staple foods. The apparent differences in cooking methods and procedures are clear among different ethnic groups. There are five ways to cook rice: cooking in an electric cooker, in arched pots (steaming after drying), one-time steaming, two-time steaming, and steaming rice with steamer after boiling and filtering the soup first (Fang 2007).

Dai, Blang, and Lahu ethnic groups cook three times a day; Yao and Jinuo ethnic groups cook twice a day and have cold lunch at noon; Hani ethnic groups cook once a day and eat cold meals at noon and in the evening. The bamboo barrel roast rice with Dai characteristics is mainly made of glutinous rice or purple rice. Now it is primarily made and eaten at national festivals or when distinguished guests come. Usually, this method is seldom used. Dai, Yao, and Jinuo ethnic people eat the meals in the fields wrapped in banana leaves, making full use of natural resources that are simple to use, convenient to carry, and easy to get. They will not cause waste of resources and environmental pollution (Tian 2010).

The Mongolian people, a legendary people with a long history, live in grasslands and have a nomadic life of "migrating by water, and grass" generation by generation, mainly live in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Northeast and Northwest China. They are typical nomadic people, and their utensils are practical and exquisite. They adapt to the food structure of dairy products and meat products. Their utensils are made of local materials, many of which are wooden and leather products. They also like copper and silver products with distinctive characteristics. Mongolian traditional customs require that everyone use their wooden bowls and chopsticks, especially in the group dinner or banquet. If someone does not have his bowls and chopsticks, people will laugh at him.

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Therefore, the dance with bowls on their heads occupies a vital position in the history of the development of Mongolian folk dance. Mongols who are good at singing and dancing have teacups or bowls of small oil lamps or bowls overhead at wedding banquets and festive parties. The bowls are filled with fresh water or milk wine. They dance with two wine cups or a bunch of bamboo chopsticks in their hands in singing and music. The top of the Mongolian wooden ladle is carved with a vine pattern or a horse's head, and there is a hole at the top which can be pierced into the leather rope for carrying (Wang 2017).

Tamping milk, rice, and tea are all used as pestles. Mongols like to use silver bowls, the outside of which are engraved with patterns. The traditional moire, seal pattern, circle pattern, deformed and short flower, and grass branches and vines follow the rhythm of circular rotation of organ type, which is lively and realistic. Mongolian containers for water, milk and wine are mostly made of leather, such as Huhule, a kind of drinking utensil made of horsehide or cowhide. It is shaped like a ship. The center part of the utensil is in the shape of a kettle mouth. It is a wooden plug with a hole through which a leather rope can hang on the body or the horse. It is solid and durable.

The pot used by the herdsmen is called Jilabuqi, made of iron or copper, and has an edge in the middle. The top edge of the pot is cast with traditional patterns, and some of it has Mongolian characteristics. They use this pot for cooking meat and boiling milk tea, so it is tremendous. Both copper spoons and iron spoons have two different shapes. One is round with a small volume. The other is oval with a large volume. Milk drums are made of wood, iron, copper, leather, and so on. Some wooden ones are cylindrical and covered, generally about 1.5 feet high, with a hoop in the middle and one handle on each side or no grip. Copper and iron ones are cylindrical.

The handles of both ends and central parts are embellished with patterns, which are beautiful and strong. The silver-inlaid buckets are more exquisite with the patterns inlaid on both the upper and lower parts, which is unique, and novel. Mongolian people like to pack horse milk wine in large leather bags made of whole skins peeled off and can hold 300 liters. Mongolian people also want to use animal stomachs (such as sheep stomachs, cattle stomachs) as storage utensils to store butter, and so on. For instance, the stomach of large livestock can hold 50 kg of butter (Li and Wu 1998).

Tibetan cooking utensils form an organic whole. Every family is equipped with butter teapots, milk teapots, tea sets, and wine utensils, and the tableware is preferred to be made of copper with an iron triangle as cookers. Tibetans like to use wooden bowls painted with red, yellow, and orange paint. Exquisite people usually use dishes made of gold, silver, copper, or even jade inlaid. Tibetan knife is the leading tableware to carry with, which has a long history and exquisite craftsmanship. It is used to cut meat and food, slaughter sheep, peel sheep when cooking, and carved wood and other things when working. Therefore, everyone has one and cannot leave it away (Li and Guo 2004).

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Due to the different living environment and frequent exchanges with the Han ethnic group, and along with the social and economic development, and changes, the Manchu catering utensils have experienced the changes of the wooden era, metalized era (copper pot charcoal fire), and the use of pottery as well as the changes of cooking methods. Manchu hotpot and "eight dishes and eight bowls" banquet reflect the integration of Manchu characteristics and Han ethnic people from meals to tableware. Manchu people also pay great attention to dishes, bowls, and other tableware and their technology and texture. New bowls and chopsticks must be added to the New Year celebration with the meanings and wishes of making the family prosperous (Ma and Tie 2017).

Manchu official cuisine emphasizes yellow dishes, yellow bowls, golden cups, red and white chopsticks, golden spoon, and so on, coupled with jade utensils, which are very luxurious with aulic tendency. Ewenki ethnic people are good at making use of local resources according to local conditions. The rich birch bark has become the material for making food utensils. The cups, plates, bowls, and daily dishes are birch bark, often decorated with patterns. Birch bark has heat insulation properties, so birch bark bowls and plates are not hot but lightweight and environmentally friendly. Ewenki ethnic people are notable for their creativity (Tian *et al.*, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Diet customs, including food sources, food processing, food varieties, and dietary etiquette, have been gradually formed during human evolution over thousands of years. It reflects the impact of geography, climate, and environment. It also reveals the mode of production, religious beliefs, living habits, ethnic changes, and even ethnic physiological differences in human beings. From a nation's diet customs, we can see its historical evolution and characters. China is a multi-ethnic country with a vast territory. The enormous cultural differences between different ethnic groups and the natural differences of their environment overlap, which results in significant differences in diet, and customs among different ethnicities. Every kind of diet and custom of every ethnic group results from its historical evolution, reflecting its tradition and historical process. It is the embodiment and symbol of its national characteristics.

Ethnic minorities in China tend to be more regionally oriented regarding food sources, dietary structure, cooking materials, dietary therapy, dietary aesthetics, and dietary ethics. Therefore, they are more "grounded" and conform to ecological and environmental protection concepts. Their food is native. The natural and straightforward processing method, the condiments are all taken from nature, and chemical additives are never abused, so the food keeps its original flavor and is naturally "green," They are well versed in the principle of "medicine and food are of the same origin. Medicine and diet are of the same merit." They are proficient in the characteristics and health care functions of birds, animals, grass, trees, fish, and

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insects. They are good at absorbing their essence through daily diet and strengthening their health. Their dietary etiquette is respectful to their ancestors, hospitable, warm, and considerate, containing simple humanistic ethics, which reflects the virtues of the Chinese nation.

The ethnic minorities' diet customs have contributed to the nation's reproduction and cultural evolution. At the same time, it is a gold mine to be further developed, which needs further rescue and excavation. By protecting and developing this precious heritage, we can further promote the Chinese diet culture and make such diet culture keep pace with the times and flourish forever.

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HOMO LYRICUS, OR LYRIC SONG IN THE ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL STRATIGRAPHY OF "FOLKLORIC CULTURE": NOTES FOR A MONOGRAPH (PART 2)

IZALY ZEMTSOVSKY and ALMA KUNANBAEVA

ABSTRACT

Authors concentrate on the very fact that there existed among the cultures of Eurasia songs resembling Japanese *oiwake,* this uniquely sophisticated form that were also in some respects analogous to it in significance. That solo-performed lyric "long" song is an international phenomenon, one that is found to this day along practically the entire length of the Great Silk Road. Such masterworks constitute one-of-a-kind creative products that are, as it were, Mona Lisas of oral tradition. Authors gave the creator of lyric songs, the lyric singer and poet, the name *Homo Lyricus*. The article consists of six sections: Just how unique is *oiwake*? (preface); Methodological foundations (after Boris Putilov); Toward future research: hypotheses and limitations; Lyric drawn-out song in the great expanse of typological succession; On the problem of authorship in Eurasian drawn-out song; Some concluding theses on freedom as the essence of lyric song; and a musical supplement. Note: "folkloric culture," as opposed to "folk culture," the term is Boris Putilov's.

Keywords: ethnomusicology, folkloristics, lyric singer and poet, lyric long solo song, drawn-out song, *oiwake, urtyn duu, ozyn küi, hora lungă,* typological succession, Great Silk Road, Eurasia, Boris Putilov.

4. LYRIC DRAWN-OUT SONG IN THE GREAT EXPANSE OF TYPOLOGICAL SUCCESSION

The next and most extensive section of our prospective monograph will naturally be dedicated to a discussion of the *typology* of the musical forms of "long" songs, again following Putilov. It is here that we will need to build up the analytical core of our research, which will be based on our engagement with and consideration of a great quantity of evidence. Since our research remains to be completed, however, it would be premature at the moment to attempt to compile any kind of exhaustive list of the typical forms of "drawn-out" songs in various ethnic contexts. One thing is certain: the elaboration of this typology must

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inevitably lead to a series of hypotheses, among them a hypothesis regarding the regional "zoning" of these types, i.e., about the geo-ethnic (or "ethnogeographic") zones that correspond to them.

We would like to stress here that what interests us is *musical* typology—though the scope of this article will not allow us to explore every aspect of the issue. We must limit ourselves at present to a preliminary outline.

From a musical perspective, all drawn-out songs can be sorted into two overarching groups, based on the way their *melos* is perceived: a "vertical" group and a "horizontal" group. Songs with a vertical *melos* (for example, Tatar and Bashkir songs, with their mellifluous pentatonicism) produce an effect of *stopped time*: you cannot disturb such beauty; you can only dwell in it and delight in it, inhabiting the elevated aesthetic state that engendered it. Songs with a horizontal *melos* (for example, Russian, Armenian, or Kazakh songs) produce an effect of *time coming into being*. This is a different kind of magic: in these songs, Time as such is simulated, and we seem to participate in its unfurling, to experience it viscerally. As Asafyev wrote: "When we hear such songs in traditional folk performance, we seem to become aware of a process of burgeoning growth: the vibrant, organic *growth* of the melody."[1] The *melos* of these songs may be defined with recourse to the concept of "genres of melodic dynamics."[2] Melodic symphonism is to the utmost degree intrinsic to cultures that are characterized by horizontal thinking—above all, steppe cultures such as the mid-southern Russian, the eastern Ukrainian, and the Kazakh (of Saryarqa).

We posit that the musical character of these songs is, as a rule, *monodic*; in our future book, we will need to dedicate a special section to the substantiation of this claim. The issue of the monodic type of song is of the utmost complexity and cannot be covered here in its entirety. Its significance, however, is enormous: from our point of view, it is monody that is the sole intonational foundation upon which the expansive melodic protraction that occurs in drawn-out songs could flourish.

We are also consciously setting aside any consideration of *liturgical* musical art as it interacts with the folkloric and oral-professional branches of sung lyric. That is a topic of the utmost importance, and also of the utmost complexity. Musical mastery of the lyrical domain of spiritual culture has run on a course if not always parallel to, then often in deep cross-correlation with development in religious cult, folklore, and authorial creativity.

At every turning point in the development of a given cultural phenomenon, a range of possibilities will open up for art (including folklore), possibilities related to how far a given artistic form or creative idea may be progressed or advanced. In practice, almost none of these ideas is realized in full within the confines of a

[1] Boris Asaf'ev, Untitled manuscript fragments from the archival records of the Central State Archive of Art and Literature of the USSR (TsGALI), f. 2658, op. 1, d. 277, l. 2. This manuscript is cited here for the first time.

[2] Zemtsovsky 2006a: 6.

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single culture; such ideas seem always to develop with reference to the widest typological horizon possible for a given art form (considered as a totality). Putilov was thus correct twice over: first, in his claim that it is worthwhile to examine the issue from the perspective of typological succession, in which there are, effectively, no geographical barriers; and second, in his claim that discreteness lies in the very foundations of typological succession.

In considering the typology of Russian drawn-out song and the possibilities that were opened up to it by the history of the form, we have come to see several paths of development. One is from within Russian tradition itself, with tradition potentially inviting its own transformation. Other paths come from without, offering fundamentally different means toward the fulfillment of the same (not in the literal, but in the typological sense) artistic idea. We would venture to suggest that, according to the law of typological succession, within the theoretical geo-historical sequence of expansively protracted songs—a sequence that disrupts the Russian material—the very idea of expansive protraction, coming after (in a historical-typological sense) Russian drawn-out song, has revealed a number of fundamentally different but artistically commensurate paths toward self-realization that have taken shape on ethnically various foundations.

If we acknowledge that the culminating form of lyric protraction in oral tradition always appears in several different configurations—each of which seems, in a sense, to anticipate the appearance of the culminating form in the moment when the sequence is disrupted—then it follows, inevitably, that we will only be able to come to any kind of conclusion about the exceptional *musical* originality of Russian drawn-out song if we base our research on a broad range of evidence. Moreover, we repeat that only an international approach will allow us to determine the *typological* place drawn-out song inhabits in world cultural activity (i.e., to determine what typological parallels there are to the musically highly developed forms of *solo* lyric song in *men's* tradition[3]). Thus, it is only on the basis of comparative analysis that we may with any degree of certainty call Russian drawn-out song a globally unique example of *melodic symphonism* (though, to be sure, as a type of solo "Renaissance lyric," with that genre's phenomenon of *cantilena*-narration, it does have the most wide-ranging historical parallels, at least in the Eurasian context).

The Oiwake type might be compared with the masterly Uzbek *katta ashula* (lit. 'big song'), Turkish *uzun hava* (lit. 'long melody'), Tatar and Bashkir *uzun küi* (lit. 'long melody') or even Romanian *hora lungă* (lit. 'long song'). As for *hora lungă*, the word 'hora' does not refer to the well-known dance form 'hora'. The *hora lungă* of the Romanian province of Maramureş derives instead from 'horea', the Romanian word meaning "oration." This etymology is revealing, for the combination of prolonged singing and expressive "musical speaking"

[3] There can be musical accompaniment to these songs, but it is not obligatory. Either way, the presence or absence of accompaniment has no definitive bearing on the type of melodic protraction.

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amalgamated into the body of a lyric song is indeed its characteristic feature. The long-drawn-out melody of these genres has no regular measures and has a rubato rhythm, i.e., a fluctuation of tempo within a musical phrase. They have elastic melodic stanzas that, theoretically, can be extended, diminished, and adorned according to the performer's will.

We have reason to hypothesize that several different models of composition may coexist when it comes to such songs, which are solo and lyrical, traditional but at the same time characterized by their highly developed melodic breadth. Such models might include, for example, the Balkan (in particular Bulgarian, Serbian, Macedonian, and Greek), the Georgian, the Italian, the Korean, the Turkish, the Ukrainian, and certain others.

To illustrate our point, we will limit ourselves to a discussion of examples from three cultures that contrast typologically with that of the Russian drawn-out song, but that are also (again typologically) commensurate with it: the Tatar *ozyn küi*, the Kazakh *än*, and the Mongolian *urtiin duu*. The possibility of direct borrowing among these four cultures with regards to the formation of their "long" songs is virtually nonexistent, since the underlying principles of their musical-poetic composition are too different.[4] In all four cultures—the Russian, the Tatar, the Kazakh, and the Mongolian—we can find lyric drawn-out songs of exceptional artistic power. Although these songs originated in the specific geographical areas inhabited by each of these four ethnic groups, they are now known not just to members of one specific region or class, but to practically everyone in their respective nations.

Tatar, Kazakh, and Mongolian "drawn-out" songs each feature the particular kind of lyric protraction the culture has selected. We will call these varieties of protraction, in short, the ornamental, the syllabic, and the intrasyllabic-melodic. These varieties of protraction are in some ways concurrent with and in other ways on a continuum with Russian song, as well as with each other.

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[4] Tatar song is performed both with or without instrumental accompaniment, while Kazakh and Mongolian song are usually performed only with instrumental accompaniment. The significance of this detail should be considered separately, as one of the signs of professionalism in oral tradition. Though beyond the scope of this article, data from at least two other typologically commensurate cultures—Ukrainian and Armenian—may provide further evidence. (Ukrainian song, incidentally, might be called "semi-drawn-out" in terms of its expansive syllabic protractions, but "drawn-out" in terms of its melodic prolongation.) The paper on which the present text has been based contrasted, respectively, the Kazakh songs "Iapyr-ai [Oh, wonder!]" and "Naz qongyr [Gentle delight]" (from Boris Erzakovich's 1932 transcription of a performance by the distinguished singer Tämta Ibragimova. See Erzakovich 1955; Erzakovich 1994, quoted here in editing by AK) with the Ukrainian "Oi za haiem zelenen'kym [Oh, behind the green grove]" and "Oi u poli verba [Oh, willow in the field]," (transcribed by Gnat Tantsiura from the uncommonly rich repertoire of Iavdokha Zuïkha, 1855-1935. See Tantsiura 1965). The Tatar "Kara urman" is taken from a performance by Ilham Shakirov (1935-2019), along with an unpublished musical transcription by Nailia Almeeva. The Mongolian drawn-out songs are cited from Dorjdagwa 1970: 31, and for Greek songs see: Baud-Bovy 1935: 39 and Baud-Bovy 1958: 47.

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If Russian drawn-out song, which has an inherently diatonic *melos*, is built, as a rule, on the principle of horizontal expansion, or the active *symphonization* of the original melodic motifs—that is, if it is built on a principle of continuous "elongation" through certain reference points or "knots," which comes to a climax and is followed by a precadential deceleration that leads to an ending—then Tatar song, as a result of its feeling for a well-defined rhythmic structure, its preservation of a certain tonal-intonational base of melodic construction, and its loving cultivation of a seemingly spherical musical form, has opted for the narrowest ornamental protraction of its syllables. The pentatonic scale used by Tatar *ozın köy* is like a vertical crystal column, shimmering melodically as a row of tones arranged as if conforming to the laws of nature.[5]

Kazakh song has opted for a broad melodic span as a result of its strict preservation of a hendecasyllabic poetic structure; for the most part, intrasyllabic melodics are totally absent. All the richness of "lyricization" is concentrated on the *melodic* coming-into-being.[6] As a result, Kazakh drawn-out song is characterized by "a widening of the tonal field."[7] However, the strophic coupling we find as a rule in the most developed Russian drawn-out songs is also preserved here—generally, to be sure, in the form of a refrain that is fused with the melostrophe. Kazakh song, as a whole, is constructed on the basis of melodic lines, though it is also characterized by an internally rich "cellular" development of the melody. We find in Kazakh song a particular type of protraction, not of the syllable, but of the melostrophe—as much on account of the interpolations that so clearly make the melodic line asymmetrical as, in a less obvious way, on account of the very melodic elasticity that exceeds the symmetry of the system. We might say that a certain kind of melodic symphonism can also be found in Kazakh song, but in the context of a different compositional system (vis-à-vis Russian drawn-out song), one based not on melodic motifs, but on melodic lines. Thus, it might be worthwhile to compare these two varieties of "symphonism": one based on melodic motifs (in Russian song), and the other based on melodic lines (in Kazakh song).

Mongolian song is distinguished by its exceptionally developed double protraction—both intrasyllabic and melodic. In this, it is analogous to Russian drawn-out song, with the difference that Mongolian song boasts a vast intonational span that is not to be found in Russian song.[8] Our preliminary analysis suggests

[5] We are unwittingly reminded of Khristofor Kushnarev's observation that the dominant characteristic of the "music of the East" is "the principle of singing 'around' clearly expressed modal supports, executed, first of all, by means of tones that are correlated with these supports in major and minor seconds..." (Kushnarev 1958: 42).

[6] For more, see Amirova, 1990; Amirova 2021.

[7] For more, see Kozhabekov.

[8] This, of course, is reflective of the difference between the peasant's cultivated fields and the nomad's steppe expanses. On the whole, it must be admitted that the Mongolian *melos* remains insufficiently studied to this day. Cf. Zemtsovsky 1998.

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that here too a doubled melostrophe has been preserved, though in this case without the refrains that are so customary in Kazakh song.

There is a reason why we have chosen examples from areas to the east of Russian territory: in all the material at our disposal, we were unable to find any corresponding forms from the mid-northern area of Western Europe (i.e., outside of the Mediterranean Basin). If we may go by the work of Walter Wiora,[9] for one (whose musical-analytical anthology, which compiles all basic melodic types of European song with reference to the modes of Gregorian chant, is unique in both content and significance), then we can assume that "drawn-out" forms of "long" songs analogous to *oiwake* do not exist in Western Europe. Perhaps further research into more specialized publications will give us the opportunity to investigate ever more specific traces of the form in question—for example, in the context of German song culture.[10]

Taken as a whole, it seems to us that the lyric drawn-out song of Eurasia exists in two basic geographical zones marked by the enormous territorial spread of various cultures within them. The first zone is the southern European, which encompasses the Mediterranean Basin as well as the Adriatic and Balkan regions adjacent to it. The second zone, which includes the areas of Central Asia and the South Siberian steppe, may be called the Altaian-Kazakh-Buryat-Tuvan-Mongolian. As we see it, each of these zones falls into one of two subcategories when it comes to singing type: the *cantilena* (or, if you like, *bel canto*) type, and the ornamental-melismatic type. Both subtypes can be traced back to the earliest musical styles of their respective regions.[11] However, as we have already stressed, an investigation of the origins and history of these phenomena is beyond the scope of this text.[12]

There are two ethnic types specific to the zones of Eurasian drawn-out song that occupy a unique and perhaps preeminent position within these zones. One is associated with central and southern Russia and eastern Ukraine, and the other is associated with the Saryarqa region of central Kazakhstan. Located at the very heart of Eurasia, these cultures cannot be classified as either Western European or East Asian. Neither Europe nor Asia is to be found in them, but instead a unique kind of *musical Eurasia*. To use Asafyev's terminology, we might sum up this uniqueness by

[9] Wiora 1952.

[10] See, for example, the famous *Lochamer Liederbuch* [Lochamer Songbook] from Nuremberg (c.1450), in particular No. 37 ("Mein Herz in Freuden sich erquicket [My Heart Quickens for Joy]"). Mikhail Saponov has pointed out, however, that there is evidence that the songs included in this collection have been reworked by minstrels ("evidently the songs of wandering minstrels"—see Saponov 1996: 184). See also the latest publication of the *Liederbuch*, with scholarly commentary: Lewon, 2007-2009. Cf. also the work of Lydia Kershner: Kershner 1959; Kershner 1965.

[11] For example, according to Buryat researcher Dashinima Dugarov, the traditional drawn-out songs of the steppe peoples of Central Asia can be traced back to the drawn-out songs of their ethnic ancestors, the Xianbei (1st century BCE – 3rd century CE). See Dugarov 1991: 241.

[12] We may add that in contrast to scholarship, life concerns itself with results, not sources. *What* is reinterpreted or revised is less important than the fact that only that which is reinterpreted or revised can be considered living.

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saying that it lies in the symphonism of this region's sung *melos*. This kind of melodic symphonism is not found in the oral traditions of Europe or Asia.

Kazakh lyric songs (specifically those of Saryarqa) have their own special place in this schema: their musical "niche" in the Eurasian context is in many respects puzzling, or at least not fully explained. Although they are, in a sense, steppe analogues to European lyric song,[13] the output of Kazakh oral-professional singers is nevertheless closer to the output of Greek Byzantium and Old Rus' than it is to that of Western Europe. With these Kazakh and Greek analogues, we are not far from another, well-known Eurasian connection, that between Russian and Kipchak contexts.[14] As a result, the phenomenon of Kazakh lyric song may serve almost as the centerpiece to our argument for the international typological affinities inherent in the more general phenomenon of Eurasian oral-professional, melodically highly developed lyric song culture. As we hope to show, this phenomenon unites within itself, on the one hand, Ukrainian, southern Russian, and Don Cossack steppe lyric song; and on the other, the steppe lyric song of Eurasian (Mongolian and Turkic) nomads. At the same time, this phenomenon is a "link" in the Eurasian "chain," like the more apparent Kazakh-Bashkir link, or the less apparent Kazakh-Armenian link.[15] We have not ruled out the possibility that Kazakh lyric song, which at first glance appears to be a late phenomenon, might actually be one of the clearest echoes we have of the ancient Dasht-i-Kipchak steppe culture.[16]

Considered as a whole, the regional map of Eurasian drawn-out song, "zoned" on the basis of musical morphology, remains a highly controversial issue. We can improve the accuracy of this map only with years of specialist work on the traditional cultures of the Eurasian continent.

5. ON THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP IN EURASIAN DRAWN-OUT SONG

In examining the international phenomenon of "drawn-out" "long" song, we have considered multiple perspectives but have focused chiefly on two: the musical-formal-creative perspective (covered, for example, in our discussion of *melodic symphonism*), and what we might call the *institutional* perspective. The latter is, of course, linked to

[13] Upon his acquaintance with Aleksandr Zataevich's unique collection of Kazakh melodies, Romain Rolland immediately remarked: "[T]hese melodies did not seem to me at all foreign, remote... clearly, they are kindred to that European musical flora which at some point was superseded and drowned out by the metered music of the educated classes." See Zataevich 1931: iv. (Cf. the reprinted edition: 2003: 32.) For more, see Erzakovich 1955: 127. For the text of Rolland's letter to Zataevich, see Zataevich 1958: 273 (correspondence between Zataevich and Rolland, translated from the French, with commentary, by Varvara Dernova).

[14] Cf. Zemtsovsky 1989; Zemtsovsky 1990.

[15] Unfortunately, none of these "links" has been studied sufficiently by ethnomusicologists. One exception is a structural similarity between Russian and Kazakh drawn-out songs noticed by Varvara Dernova (in an unpublished review of IZ's 1964 doctoral dissertation on Russian drawn-out song). The extent to which Armenian song culture is related to this phenomenon is a subject that requires more research. We will note, however, the existence of the Armeno-Kipchak language.

[16] For more on Dasht-i-Kipchak, see Kliashtornyi 2000.

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the broader issue of professionalism (or, if you will, semi-professionalism) in the music of oral tradition, and by extension to the role the authorial principle plays therein. Is Homo Lyricus simply a performer, a singer, a musician who uses his or her craftsmanship to fine-tune a song; or does he or she play a direct role in the process of creating a song, in the manner of a poet and/or composer?

A notable feature of the professional lyric singers of Kazakhstan is their conscious attitude toward authorial rights and the preservation of them, which is accomplished in several ways: by cementing or "fixing" the titles of songs that are becoming widely known; by referring to a song's authorship straightaway in its first sung verse; and by relating canonical legends about the song's creation, generally before the performance of the song itself, which facilitates the natural evolution of these legends into memorates, or story-reminiscences about the author.

According to Dina Amirova,[17] there are three basic types that belong to the Kazakh "institution" of lyric singers: in the Kazakh language, they are called *sal*, *seri*, and *änshi*. The great contribution of each of these three types to the development of Kazakh lyric song is indisputable.[18] We do not, however, think that all three types should be understood as absolute equals within a single social-artistic category. In fact, the etymology of each term—which is of the utmost significance to our understanding of lyric singers as a phenomenon—confirms our view on the matter. *Än* simply means "song," and *seri* is literally "singer, musician, artist, dandy, beau (read: handsome man), cavalier." *Sal*, on the other hand, has quite a different sense. At base, it means simply "poet, composer, singer, man of art." But this root term also carries a number of other connotations that must be taken into account if we are to get the full picture of what is understood by the term *sal*. Etymologically, *sal* is linked to the hunting tradition of battue, an event that is beautiful in its sporting elements and festive to the point of theatricality. Thus the terms *salburyn* (a collective, multi-day hunt far from the *aul*, or village, generally with the help of a berkut, or golden eagle) and *änsalu* (lit. "to drive a song" or "to play a song," whence the metaphor "a long hunt" for "pursuit of the melody"). There is yet another meaning of *sal*, and this will not be found in the dictionary: it

[17] Amirova 1990: 7; Amirova 2021.

[18] The songs of the most famous singers of Saryarqa, as well as factual information about them, have been preserved up to the present day. These singers include Aqan Seri Qoramsauly (1843-1913), Birzhan-sal Qozhaghululy (1834-1897), Zhaiau Musa Baizhanuly (1835-1929), Ükili Ybyrai Sandybaiuly (1860-1932), Mukhit Meräliuly (1841-1918), Mädi Bäpiuly (1880-1921), Äset Naimanbaiuly (1867-1922), and Estai Berkimbaiuly (1874-1946). The phenomenal Ämire Qashaubaiuly (1888-1934) became widely known outside of Kazakhstan as well: he took part in two International Exhibitions of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts (Paris, 1925; Frankfurt-am-Main, 1927) with success. Twentieth-century successors of the great singer-poet-composers of the past—including Manabek Urzhanov (1901-1966), Zhüsipbek Elebekov (1904-1977), and the prematurely deceased Zhänibek Kärmenov (1949-1992), whom we both had the good fortune to hear on several occasions—have been instrumental in the preservation of the treasury of Kazakh sung lyric as well as its inclusion in the nation's modern musical-poetic oral "thesaurus."

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refers to coitus. This shade of meaning brings to mind such terms as Slavic *sal'nyi* ("obscene, bawdy, dirty"), which comes from Russian *salo*, and French *sale* (dirty). In reference to singers, who are distinguished by their exceptional sexual energy, these connotations are not accidental. Edyge Tursunov (1942-2016) has further traced the term to the Turkic root *sal*, one of the meanings of which is "to forget about everything in one's enthusiasm for something."[19]

To the group that includes the pan-Kazakh *sal-seri*, we may add the *qaiqy* from Mangystau in western Kazakhstan. The *qaiqy* is a regional equivalent of *sal-seri*, though the most outstanding exemplars of professional lyric singing among the Kazakhs come from Saryarqa (lit. "Golden Steppe") in central Kazakhstan. Be that as it may, the etymology of the word *qaiqy* (lit. "stubbornly turned up," "capriciously whimsical") is no less telling. Compare, for example, the connotations of certain words from a closely related Kazakh semantic field, words such as *qaiqaq* (figuratively, "snobbish, haughty aristocrat"), *qazhqang* ("self-satisfied, having a high opinion of oneself"), or *qaikitu* ("to get full of oneself, to put on airs"). We know of seven composer-poet-performers who lived in Mangystau at the end of the nineteenth century: Tastemir, Öskenbai, Tursyn, Zhylgeldi, Dosat, Sholtaman, and Ädil. Among the people, they are called *Zheti qaiqy*, or "the Seven *Qaiqy*."[20]

It is astonishing what typological parallels there are to the amorous Kazakh *sal/seri/qaiqy* (to say nothing of their oral-professional lyric songs) in the world of Western European courtly poetry. We are reminded, at least, of the following argument: "Except feats of arms and love, nothing can occur in the courtly world—and even those two are of a special sort: they are not occurrences or emotions which can be absent for a time; they are permanently connected with the person of the perfect knight, they are part of his definition, so that he cannot for one moment be without adventure in arms nor for one moment without amorous entanglement. If he could, he would lose himself and no longer be a knight."[21] It is tempting to reread this entire passage, only with the Kazakh *sal-seri* in place of the European knight!

We have not, however, exhausted all of the semantic overtones that can be found in the names given to Kazakh lyric singers. In particular, no one has yet noticed a further possible etymology of the Kazakh word *sal*, from Greek σαλός [*salós*].[22] Given the fact that many diverse ancient Greek and Kazakh typological

[19] Tursunov 1999: 195.

[20] For more on the *qaiqy* of Mangystau, see Tilegenov 2000.

[21] Auerbach 2003: 140.

[22] In particular, it is well known that in the context of early Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian monasticism, there was a transformation of the concept of *saloj*, which signified weakness of the mind and mental pathologies, into the religious term *salós* (σαλός), which refers to hermit monks and a particular type of saintliness ("*salós*" literally means "stupid," "insane," "blessed"). In Byzantium the term *salós*, with this latter meaning of saintliness, became fixed at the beginning of the fifth century. The Blessed Nicholas of Pskov (a "fool for Christ") is a particularly famous example. In 1570, he managed to strike fear into Ivan the Terrible himself, who had been on his way to crush Pskov. For more, see Ivanov 2006.

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parallels have already been discussed in the field of folkloristics,[23] it could be of some use to consider such an unexpected etymology. At the very least, this etymological linkage helps to emphasize the fact that it is an obligatory feature of the folk author-performers in question that their behavior will contrast sharply with that of other strata in their respective societies.

Our attention has also been drawn to another key word, this one from Latin: *Sălii*, meaning "dancers," "leapers." According to the dictionary definition, the Sălii were two ancient priestly collegia, each made up of twelve patricians, dedicated to Mars, who were the guardians of sacred shields. They performed war dances and sacred songs.[24] Interestingly, these Sălii were associated with the verb *sălĭo*, which means not only "to jump" or "to leap," but also "to mount" or "to cover" (in reference to the copulation of animals).

There is more. We know that *sal* and *seri* not only coexisted, but also actively engaged with each other, and they did so within the very same traveling artistic "communes," as we would call them today. In fact, in traditional Kazakh society, "groups of itinerant singers and bards (aqyns) also existed. Along with musicians, these groups traditionally included a humorist-wit, a smith-jeweler and a strongman-wrestler. In the make-up of such 'brigades,' it was as though the implied poetic metaphors had been personified—the 'forging' of a word, a *triumphant* word, a *muscular* word, and a *striking* or *well-aimed* word. The image and its embodiment traveled together, the word being sharpened simultaneously as an idea and as a visible action."[25]

Typologically analogous "brigades" can be found in the most various traditions, from that of the European minstrel[26] to that of the Mongolian nomad. Nogala Bjerke has given us one example in the figure of the poet and singer Dulduityn Danzanravjaa (1803-1856). Danzanravjaa was behind the building of the first Mongolian museum as well as the first Mongolian theater, for which he himself produced the scripts, the music, and the sets; he also organized a large acting troupe for the theater and took on the role of theatrical director for it. Beginning in 1827, he set out to travel almost the entire length and breadth of Mongolia, taking part in festivals, listening to folk songs, and creating and performing songs himself. And here is something interesting. In his travels, he was invariably accompanied by a group of talented girls who made up a peculiar ensemble: they were adept at singing, dancing, drawing, and composing and writing down poems, in both Tibetan and Mongolian. Their leader was a girl named Dadishura, at whose request Danzanravjaa composed a number of lovely verses.[27] It comes as no surprise that there were religious figures who persecuted Danzanravjaa, calling him "rabid," a "drunkard," an

[23] See, for example, Kunanbaeva 2019.
[24] Sobolevskii 1949: 770.
[25] Kunanbay 2001: 191.
[26] For more, see Mikhail Saponov's brilliant monograph: Saponov 1996: 100-105.
[27] B'erke 2006: 80, 21

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"idiot in the guise of a monk."[28] The poet, for his part, made use of these derogatory nicknames, signed his poems with them, and defiantly said: "if one is able to comprehend the essence of the secret writings, then supernatural possibilities are attainable: one can make medicine out of poison, and *rashan* [holy water with healing properties] out of vodka."[29]

Oyuuntsetseg Dörvöljingiin[30] has argued that it was during the era of the "Mongolian Renaissance" (from the middle of the sixteenth century to the latter half of the seventeenth), that the authorial principle began to play a prominent role in Mongolian drawn-out "long" song, or *urtiin duu*. The Mongolian people know the names of the poets and singers who created these great monuments of vocal art; these names have been imprinted in their cultural memory. But of all these poets and singers, the one most read in Mongolia is indeed Dulduityn Danzanravjaa. According to Dörvöljingiin, he is responsible for dozens of the best Khalkha *urtiin duu* poetic texts, as well as, possibly, the music for them. A great number of these masterpieces are beloved throughout Mongolia to this day. There is a modern tradition of recognizing the authorship of other *urtiin duu* as well. According to one legend, for example, the expansively protracted song known as "The Four Seasons," still popular as a kind of hymn to blossoming nature, was composed by a great but as yet unknown singer-soloist for the first pan-Mongolian Naadam festival in 1689.[31]

It does not follow, of course, that the phenomenon of "fools," oddballs, and eccentrics who lead their lives in the world of art, at a great remove from the "normal" routine of everyday life (types ingeniously embodied by the Mongolian Danzanravjaa and the Kazakh Birzhan-sal), can be found only among the nomads of Central Asia; such characters are also highly popular among the sedentary Uzbeks, for example. American ethnomusicologist Theodore Levin has made such figures the subject of his vivid, beautifully written book *One Hundred Fools of God*.[32] There, he discusses some of the very best of these traditional musicians, those who seem to live entirely, deliriously in the world art, like "madmen." These musicians have been given the Arabic name *abdāl*, which in the Central Asian context means "friend of God" or "fool of God," but also "dervish" or "ascetic." In all cases, this is a person who does not belong entirely to "this world." It is these

[28] In connection with this nickname, it is difficult not to think of the old Russian "fools for Christ." Some of Danzanravjaa's other nicknames, however, bring to mind something closer to Western European minstrels, who at times bore pejorative or derogatory names such as "Roach Face," "Frog Mouth," "Goat Tail," or even "Charlatan," "Scoundrel," "Windbag," and so on. Mikhail Saponov has called these wandering musicians, poets, healers, hunters, and *jongleurs* of the Middle Ages "outcasts" (Saponov 1996: 95, 35).

[29] B'erke 2006: 21.

[30] Dörvöljingiin 1990, chapter 2.

[31] Smirnov 1975: 81, n.16. (On pages 15-16, Smirnov presents another legend concerning the origin of this song in the *obo* festival.)

[32] Levin 1996.

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figures, these "holy fools," whose voices are able to reach God and humans equally. The person who lives in the name of art is "odd" to those who lead "normal" lives; but he or she, in showing others the truest path to God, is a societal necessity. It is not by chance that in their ecstatic songs about divine love, Central Asian Sufis have drawn from the art of these musical "oddballs," with that art's amatory-lyric figurations. In such a context, the nicknames "fool" and "oddball" can be understood in an almost sacred sense.

The figure of the musician or lyric singer as "madman" can be found in other traditions as well. From a typological perspective, it is an international phenomenon. When his or her "normal" contemporaries referred to a great musician-poet-artist-minstrel as a "fool" or an "idiot,"[33] the function of the personal insult was by no means simply to put the artist down. On the contrary, such terms may be said to have exalted the artist in his or her identity as someone of high typological status. We are speaking here of a layer of culture of very great significance, the oral nature of which should not deter us from registering the issue of authorship that is partly obscured by it. Mikhail Saponov has hypothesized convincingly that orality acts here as "a marker of *special musical professionalism*, as well as a marker of the special status of the *folk artistic cultural practice* most naturally called *minstrelsy*."[34]

We have not ruled out the possibility that "minstrelness" as a general umbrella term might pertain typologically to Europe and Central Asia in equal measure. The flamboyant, handsome Kazakh *sal-seri*, the Mongolian "idiot in the guise of a monk," and the Uzbek "fool of God" are, if not directly related to, then related at one remove from the various types of Western European minstrel. Indeed, what the Old French word "*jongleur*" designated was as international a phenomenon as the concrete figure of the *jongleur* himself[35]—only today we may say with certainty that the phenomenon was international not only in the European context.

The evidence collected by Alan P. Merriam (1923-1980) in his book *The Anthropology of Music* provides some foundation for cautious speculation about the existence of even broader typological parallels to the Kazakh *sal-seri*.[36] These parallels come from beyond the borders of Europe, from areas encompassing not only Africa, but also various Pacific Islands (for example, the Trobriand Islands). At least three observations from different scholars come to mind. As George Thomas Basden (1873-1944) has maintained, "talent is recognized, and many artists become very popular. [...] The leader of a chorus is accorded much the same honour amongst the Ibos as that granted to the minstrel in ancient days in England."[37] Philip Comi

[33] Might Dostoevsky's titular *Idiot* belong in some way to this historical line?

[34] Saponov 1996: 15 (Saponov's emphasis).

[35] Ibid, 34. Saponov recognizes how extensive the free circulation has been of terms designating such syncretic artists (Ibid, 35 et passim).

[36] Merriam 1965: 134 et passim. Cf. also the striking parallels to the Kazakh *sal-seri* Tursunov has noticed in reference to members of Polynesian ritual secret societies called the "Arioi" (Tursunov 1999: 181 et passim).

[37] Basden 1921: 190.

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Gbeho (1904-1976), speaking of the general Ghanaian context, says that there "musicians are treated with reverence, and they have a tremendous influence over the rest."[38] Merriam has proposed one model of the professional musician in traditional culture that is characterized by its combination of high importance but relatively low social status.[39] The musician in this model is also characterized by behavior that deviates from existing norms, and by the advantages or benefits derived from that behavior.[40] Merriam writes: "the musician may be assigned a special status in society, which allows him certain privileges not given to others because of his importance to society at large. We can approach this hypothesis through Malinowski's report on the behavior, and its consequences, of a Trobriands singer: 'Mokadayu, of Okopukopu, was a famous singer. Like all of his profession he was no less renowned for his success with the ladies. "For," say the natives, "the throat is a long passage like the *wilu* (vulva), and the two attract each other." "A man who has a beautiful voice will like women very much and they will like him." Many stories are told of how he slept with all the wives of the chief in Olivilevi, how he seduced this and that married woman...'"[41]

It is difficult not to agree with Merriam's final conclusion: "This pattern of low status and high importance, deviant behavior and the capitalization of it, cannot be said to characterize the musician in all societies, but it seems to be a basic organization for a number of groups in a rather remarkable world distribution. While it is to be expected that other patterns will emerge, this one is clearly of considerable importance. It is to be hoped that further research will disclose its actual geographic extent, as well as its social significance."[42]

None of what has been said here about the lyric songs of the minstrel and Central Asian (and especially the African) traditions would seem to apply, for example, to the Russian lyric "Remember, remember, my dear, our former love," which has become one of the classic drawn-out songs.[43] We must, then, ask a

[38] Gbeho 1952: 31.

[39] "Life in a village without musicians is not to be considered, and people spoke of leaving the village where no musicians present. [...] The fact of the matter is that without musicians a village is incomplete; people want to sing and dance, and a number of important village activities simply cannot be carried out without musicians. The villagers are unanimous in stating that musicians are extremely important people; without them, life would be intolerable" (Merriam 1965: 136).

[40] "... this pattern of low status and high importance, coupled with deviant behavior allowed by the society and capitalized upon by the musician, may be fairly widespread..." (Ibid, 137). Cf. also the well-known West African griots, gifted bards and musicians who wandered from village to village, amusing the inhabitants with songs and tales. The griots were also allowed to behave in ways that were not permissible for others in their society. In modern times, a notion of "griotism" has come to characterize an entire stratum of the contemporary cultures of West Africa, including an oral tradition of maintaining and passing along important familial and local histories through poetry and music.

[41] Malinowski 1925: 203.

[42] Merriam 1965: 140.

[43] For an analysis of these songs, see Zemtsovsky 1967: 105-109, 165; and Zemtsovsky 1990a, where musical treatments of this poetic text in various styles— "drawn-out," round dance, and petty-bourgeois romance—are compared. See also: Vasil'eva 1994. The song is cited here after Lopatin 1956, № 37.

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heretical question: is it possible that this song—at least in the remarkably elegant, indeed perfect variant collected by Nikolai Lopatin and Vasily Prokunin in 1889—is not a peasant creation at all? Lopatin, when transcribing it in its most classical (in terms of form) "drawn-out" variant, noted that "this is by nature a one-man, solo song."[44] He considered it necessary, moreover, to state that he had transcribed it not from a folk—that is, peasant—performance, but from a performance by Ivan Lavrov, a distinguished artist of the dramatic theater, who had heard the song in the Yaroslavl Governorate roughly a quarter of century before Prokunin would fix it in notation.[45] However excellent Lavrov's musical hearing may have been, we cannot rule out the possibility that the theater actor had adjusted the song to make it conform to his own artistic taste and had, over time, refined it to the level of classical beauty we still find so astonishing today.[46] In any case, the song's deep connection with peasant creativity *and* its separation from it are both in evidence here—to say nothing of the role played in its ultimate development by the talent of a performer-professional "from the outside" (as a rule, from among the intelligentsia). In short, the presence of this notated form (and perhaps even of the entire type of analogous men's solo songs in question here, taken as a whole) in the corpus of Russian *peasant* folklore (specifically) is to a certain degree problematic.

It seems we have reason to speak not only of adaptations of folkloric material by the written tradition (for example, by poets or composers), but also of

[44] Lopatin 1956: 144. The collectors did not transcribe this variant "from the voices [performances] of the people directly" (ibid, 41). Rather, this delightful melody "was transcribed by Prokunin from Ivan Ivanovich Lavrov (1827-1902), an artist of the Moscow Imperial Theatres, as well as a connoisseur and performer of folksongs, which he compiled in great numbers over the course of his travels throughout Russia [...] during the 1840s and the early 1850s" (ibid., 41-42). Lavrov learned the song from *burlaks* in Rybinsk but never performed it publicly, which was, in Lopatin's view, his way of ensuring that he would never distort the song by adapting it for concert performance. (See also the way Lopatin and Prukunin have described the qualities of Lavrov's singing: "possessing in his youth a powerful tenor, he was able to master that broad manner of singing characteristic of the best folk voices, which has already [in the 1880s—IZ, AK] become a rarity; expressly searching out the best singers of the Volga region, he transcribed the song texts he heard and at the same time *committed to memory* the best Volga melodies" [ibid, 42].) According to Lopatin, Nos. 22, 33, 37, 42, 45, and 75 were transcribed from Lavrov, while Nos. 34 ("Skazhite, mysli, pro moe neschast'e [Tell me, my thoughts, of my misfortune]"), 35 ("Eko serdtse, eko bednoe moe [O my heart, my poor heart]"), and 62 ("Nochi moi temnye [My dark nights]") were transcribed from Nikolai Pavlovich Glebov, another amateur "from the outside," who learned these songs in childhood (!) in his father's house.

[45] The same is true of another masterwork from Lopatin and Prokunin's collection, the drawn-out song "Ne odna vo pole dorozhen'ka prolegala [Not one little path ran through the field]" (No. 22). Cf. also "Ne shumi, mati zelenaia dubrovushka [Don't rustle, mother green oak]" (No. 58). The latter song was reprinted (No. 28, "Dubrovushka [Oak]") in Zemtsovsky 1966; "Remember, remember, my dear" appears there as No. 45. Lopatin's variant of No. 22 has not been reprinted; see the 1966 anthology for two peasant variants: Lineva 1909: Nos. 7 and 5 (in the 1966 anthology, these are Nos. 49-50).

[46] That "Remember, remember, my dear" from Lopatin and Prokunin's collection is a unique masterwork rather than the customary peasant variant is corroborated by the hardly incidental fact that a musician of such depth as Boleslav Yavorsky (1877-1942) considered it possible to prepare, with singers, this notated version of the song for performance alongside classical romances (Iavorskii 1964: 353).

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adaptations of a sort by the folkloric or circumfolkloric oral milieux themselves. The latter is precisely the situation we find with the song "Remember, remember, my dear." The word "adaptation" here refers, of course, not to the process of harmonization, but to a master's work of bringing the melody to perfect completion, of fashioning an ideal artifact. In other words, what we are seeing here once again is a *departure* from the framework of folklore as such.

The case of the Georgian polyphonic masterpiece "Tsintskaro"[47] is analogous to that of the Russian solo song "Remember, remember, my dear." In this instance, a superior variant was performed by the professional Kakhetian folk singer Vano Mchedlishvili (1903-1970); then it was transcribed; and finally it was refined by another great professional singer, Hamlet Gonashvili (1928-1985), who was also Kakhetian but effectively became "the voice of Georgia."[48] His performance of "Tsintskaro" has attained truly international fame. To this day, Georgian musicologists are still arguing over whether Mchedlishvili composed the song or merely adapted it. From our point of view, the existence of folkloric parallels, which our Georgian colleagues have so expertly identified, does not at all negate the fact that there has been authorial intervention, as was the case with the Russian "Remember, remember, my dear." Moreover, the fact that the music is polyphonic implies that there has been what we might call a *polyphonic redaction* of the song by an individual artist, which would be quite natural given the fact that Georgian music is, of course, predominantly polyphonic.

What we see indicated in these characteristic examples is a particular phenomenon that we will provisionally call "hidden authorship." In examining this phenomenon, we are also by necessity drawing attention to the question of the authorial principle within the framework of collective tradition. The conventional division of folklore along the lines of social class does not in all cases adequately capture the reality of oral tradition, in particular of the "folkloric culture" Putilov has written about. Vladimir Shishmarev's thesis seems apropos here: "The theory of a new love [...] is not a class moment, but a cultural moment in the development of medieval lyric song."[49] We are in agreement with Shishmarev, who regarded

[47] For a standard example, see Mills 2004: 48 [No. 42].

[48] Cf. two comments from distinguished Georgian musicians: "It seems to me that Hamlet Gonashvili was not a singer who preserved traditional singing or revitalized it, as so many other famous performers have done. Hamlet Gonashvili *created traditional singing in its new, natural hypostasis*" (Jansug Kakhidze, composer and conductor); "He was *the kind of person born once every hundred years*. He had in his voice that which is absolutely impossible to learn in any academy. His voice had in it the centuries-old sufferings of the Georgian people, and in his songs you can feel the Georgian people's sorrow and grief; I have not heard this in the voices of other singers and probably never will hear it again" (Paata Burchuladze, opera singer). See Vladimir Sarishvili, "On pel o bessmertii, rytsarstve, schast'e Gruzii [He Sang about Immortality, Chivalry, the Happiness of Georgia]," http://www. nukri.org/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=805, retrieved 25 July 2008. We would like to thank Rusudan Tsurtsumia, Joseph Jordania, Tamaz Gabisonia, Nino Kalandadze and Otar Kapanadze for their invaluable discussions with us on Georgian song.

[49] Shishmarev 1911: 334.

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lyric song as a *universal* generic form, *common to all people*.[50] We are absolutely convinced that when speaking of highly developed lyric songs, one must proceed not from social class, but from personality, the personality that has found the freedom of self-expression; one must refer to the "artistic elite" of any given social stratum. To be sure, "hidden authorship" is not the same as Mikhail Steblin-Kamensky's (1903-1981) well-known opposition between "conscious" and "unconscious" authorship. It does not refer to something that "belongs" to an (individual) author; in the main, it refers to something that "belongs" to the collective. What this means is that issues related to the opposition between "folklore" and "composer" are not yet relevant here: the creative principle exists within the framework and foundations of tradition, but the created work itself takes its place among the outstanding contributions of phenomenally gifted individuals: performer-creators whose personal stamp, as plainly discernible as it may be, nevertheless may still be taken up by tradition and infused back into it.

"Hidden authorship" need not extend to the issue of song creation as a whole, considered as a unity of melody and poetic text. We can, of course, find in tradition *author-pioneers*, whose contributions to creative art are made before a song is "picked up" by the people and achieves popularity among them, as well as *author-completers*, whose work completes the process of creation at a certain point in the lifespan of a beloved song. The latter create a certain standard of performance, any alteration of which is perceived not as a reinvigorating variation, but as the disfigurement of something exemplary.

In music, just as in the applied arts, tradition thrives in the space between the collective and the individual. Hence Aleksandr Veselovsky's insightful proposition about "the collective self-determination of the individual."[51] It makes sense, then, to speak not only of folk craftsmen, but also of folk poets and folk composers—of, as Boris Asafyev has put it, the beautiful, meticulous work of generations of skilled craftsmen whose identities are unknown to us, "craftsmen of initial solos [*zapev*] and craftsmen of undervoicing [*podgolosok*], of the techniques of protraction and ornamentation."[52]

Throughout this section, we have thus highlighted those rare but noteworthy instances when there is evidence of the authorial principle, which in one way or another affects the fate of individual lyric songs in various ethnic traditions. One cannot help but come to the conclusion that all hypotheses regarding the highly developed sung lyric hinge on the role and significance of the peasantry in relation to it, as well as on the potential capacity of the "folkloric culture" of a given *ethnos* to transcend *creatively* the boundaries of that *ethnos*—i.e., by the

[50] Ibid, 559. On the same page: "From a historical perspective it is much more important to understand [this form] as *proceeding from itself*..." This echoes our root idea considering the *causa sui* of lyric song (see note 9).

[51] Veselovskii 1940: 271.

[52] Asaf'ev 1954a: 221.

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creation within folkloric culture of a special *institution of lyric singers*. In places where tradition has been ripe for and has accommodated the "institutionalizing" of Homines Lyrici, we find a socially determined category of *creator-performers* who create and perform unique masterpieces of the sung genre. In places where this has not happened, where the institution of lyric singers has not appeared, where for one reason of another the development of lyric song forms in the peasant (or, more broadly, the folkloric) tradition itself has ceased, this type of *melos* either is canonized, as in the case of *oiwake*; or it falls silent for a time, awaiting the appearance of a second Ilham Shakirov, as in the case of Tatar *ozın köy*; or the tradition of solo drawn-out singing in general is broken and, under such unfavorable conditions, gradually dies out, to be renewed in some fresh capacity—as, for example, it was in the works of Classical and Romantic composers who picked up the tradition and developed it to a remarkable new degree. Similarly, in the Russian tradition, for example, where no special social-artistic institution of lyric singers has taken shape, the greatest examples of "drawn-out" melodics are to be found in the works of composers of genius, works that are rooted in a lyric, inherently monodic *melos*. The compositions of Sergei Rachmaninov, for one, unexpectedly reveal their profoundly "oral" nature despite the fact that they are situated within the framework of what is conventionally called the "written" tradition.[53]

6. SOME CONCLUDING THESES ON FREEDOM AS THE ESSENCE OF LYRIC SONG

We would like, finally, to offer a few theses on the essence of sung lyric, in particular one aspect that has not yet been emphasized sufficiently.

If it is true that the great masses of the peasantry have not been involved in shifts of artistic style and direction (as represented, for example, by the Renaissance and Baroque periods, Neoclassicism, or the Enlightenment) and have instead gone on with their own traditional lives in a practically medieval mode that has remained almost unchanged for centuries, then the peasants, according to one hypothesis, would not themselves have been able to create the solo-performed, melodically highly developed lyric song that interests us here.[54] For that requires a particular type of highly gifted individual, and a

[53] On the subject of Rachmaninov's performance style as a composer-pianist of "oral art," see Asaf'ev 1954: 297.

[54] Nikolai Lopatin was also certain that "in the heyday of folk creativity, folksong was not created exclusively by the common people" (Lopatin 1956: 66). Cf.: "In the fourteenth century, in France and Germany, the long-forgotten folk song was heard once again; it was written down, it was imitated. [...] Its immediate bearers may have been roving singers, but the civilized bourgeoisie may also have played its own role: its members had adopted the conventions of *courtoisie* and were familiar with the lyric songs of that tradition, but they were also in close proximity to the peasantry and its songs; both strains may have come together in the daily usage of the bourgeois family" (Veselovskii 1940: 288). Cf. also Morris 2004.

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particular type of *individual* freedom. This kind of individual cannot function creatively within the strict context of folklore, where, as Putilov has shown, even the human being is subject to what might be called "technical necessity." On the contrary, when it comes to solo lyric song of this type, the crux of the matter is concentrated specifically in the individual personality of the "performer," or performer-creator, Homo Lyricus. In the words of Leonid Batkin, "over the span of time from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth [...] the principle of traditionalism [...] gave way to the principle of the individual"—even if this individuality "was more experienced, *intoned*, than cognized" (emphasis ours).[55]

Lyric song is not only a *what*, but also a *how*, and this *how* is enclosed within a particular kind of energy, the energy of free self-affirmation, the free—to highlight this once again—self-realization of the individual. This creative energy finds its expression above all in the lyric *melos*, as well as in the nature of lyric performance. Thus, we will insist that the essence of lyric song lies in its *freedom*—freedom in several different senses. We do not presume to have any definitive answers to a question as complex and contradictory as that presented by the issue of freedom; we will merely delineate seven aspects of it that we believe have the most direct connection to lyric song.

1. The striving toward personal freedom (including freedom from an oppressive collective), in poetry as much as in life: *Oh, if only I had some little grey wings, some little gold feathers, I'd fly up and around, I'd land wherever I'd like.* This, incidentally, is why all Russian songs about dreams and desires [*volia-voliushka*] are so singularly beautiful and profound, so poignant and deeply felt. These songs are saturated with the poetry of the subjunctive mood; they are about freedom pitted against the unfreedom that comes from social, familial, and other kinds of bondage.[56] To this we must add the social-artistic "freedom of behavior" enjoyed by lyric singers, who are permitted much in their everyday lives that is forbidden to others.

2. The freedom of open space (as found in songs predominantly of the plains and steppes, rather than of the forest). According to Asafyev, they "astound us with *the expanse of space* they encompass: it seems to us that the musical motif is infinite, the breath of the singer inexhaustible, the fullness of the sound immeasurable."[57] (Here also, presumably, is an origin of the broad intervallic leaps

[55] Batkin 1989: 219, 133.

[56] Why indeed has no anthology of Russian songs about freedom been compiled, to this day? It would truly be a collection of masterpieces.

[57] Asaf'ev 1987: 156 (Asafyev's emphasis). Asafyev is referring here to the songs of the "Eastern steppes"—though it is quite possible that he also had Kazakh lyric song in mind. Cf. the Udmurt word *kyrzan*—"song"—which means, and may perhaps be translated as, "free soul," or "soul of the steppe." (See Zemtsovsky 2007: 31, n. 38.) Apropos, Evgenya Lineva has recorded a strikingly profound folk saying: "the soul can't reach far enough to sing a song [i.e., a lyric drawn-out song] to the end" (Lineva 1909: xxviii).

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characteristic of drawn-out song.) We are reminded of Turgenev's Yakov the Turk, a natural-born singer, whose performance creates an effect "as though the familiar steppes were unfolding before our eyes and stretching away into endless distance."[58] Thirty-five years after the publication of *A Hunter's Sketches*, Stepan Ponomarev (1865-1889) wrote, in his deeply lyrical style, "You let the songs unfold, and you see that they are filled with the steppe..."[59]

3. Freedom from war, with the possibility of a long, peaceful life. Such is the case, generally speaking, in the inner territories of a given *ethnos*, where there are no shared borders and the people are economically more secure. (We see exactly the opposite scenario in areas where there is a developed epic tradition; these areas are concentrated predominantly in ethnic borderlands, areas of tension in all senses.)

4. Freedom of movement. We are thinking here of the copious evidence collected by Aleksandr Veselovsky on wandering minstrels, as well as an important observation by István Frank, the author of a remarkable book on *trouvères* and *Minnesänger*. According to Frank, lyric song travels "from person to person, poet to poet: the movement of these tastes, ideas, forms, melodies occurs in the course of personal contact."[60]

5. Freedom of breath—of that great, "speaking" breath that occurs when a melody soars in asymmetric waves, culminating, in the words of Ilya Khlopkov (one of the great Russian singers who performed for Lopatin and Prokunin), in a state in which "you can't hold the voice back: how can you hold it back, your hand's numb!"[61] This kind of breath is the fruit of true artistic freedom, the freedom of the joy one feels in flights of self-expression. (Structurally, this breath manifests itself above all in a rhythmic freedom that enables the free, unrestricted flow of a musical thought.) There is a special paradox here, one we will call the *oiwake* paradox: on the one hand, we have the meticulous precision of protraction, and on the other, the unquenchable freedom of self-expression. The important point is that freedom in art does not equate to arbitrariness, but to the revelation of a particular beauty that, by virtue of the consummate perfection of its artistic form, endures and in a sense becomes "fixed." Thus, there is no inherent conflict between this perfect artistic form and the principle of artistic freedom.

6. Freedom of spiritual self-realization, that is, creative freedom, with the primacy it gives to beauty. It gives us wings, allows us to forget about the routine of everyday life and contemplate the eternal, that which is higher than

[58] Turgenev 1906: 62.

[59] Ponomarev 1887: 32-33.

[60] Frank 1952: v. Mikhail Saponov (Saponov 1996: 103) brings up the phenomenon of "borrowing that occurs when singers of various lands interact with each other" and concludes: "the minstrel becomes the bearer of an international oral corpus." (Cf. ibid., 277-278, on the common poetic language of the Middle Ages.)

[61] Lopatin 1956: 119.

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we are: this is what is most important in lyric song. We are reminded of a Hasidic legend about Pinchas of Koretz, a famous rabbi in his own time, who stopped one day while walking with his pupils to listen to a watchmaker singing a Ukrainian song from the roof of a house being built nearby. Rabbi Pinchas listened for a long time, and then started to sing the melody himself. His pupils were horrified. But Rabbi Pinchas said to them: "This *muzhik* sings in such a way that the heavens open up before him. If you can't see that, you're blind." Citing this legend in 1915, Joel Engel was delighted by the way it showed the great power of art to bring together such different kinds of people as the peasant laborer and the rabbi.[62] This, of course, is true; but what startles us even more about this legend is the force of its insight into the very essence of lyric song. We simply cannot think of an illustration better than this one. When *the heavens open up to song*, then everything earthly fades into the background, and the human being attains an inner freedom unlike anything else, as well as a true aspirationality of the spirit. Homo Lyricus is by definition free, and his or her unseen addressee is above words and melody, for the audience is the heavens themselves. It is a rare occasion when artistic riches like this are revealed, when the singer resounds as if in two worlds simultaneously—"here" on earth, and "there" in the melosphere.

7. It is clear, if we consider all of the points above, that in lyric song there is truly an extraordinary freedom of *melos*, a kind of freedom that is only possible or actualizable in solo singing.[63] To our minds, this freedom is comparable to the freedom unlocked in painting by the discovery of one-point perspective. As is well known, the latter concept had emerged already in ancient Greece, but it was only when it was rediscovered during the Renaissance and in particular the post-Renaissance period that it became a dominant trend. "One-point perspective is the triumph of the artist's subjective, personal point of view."[64] We are convinced that this parallel between lyric *melos* and one-point perspective in painting warrants serious consideration. We would like to stress, however, that it would be unwise to connect lyric song with one-point perspective in any *chronological* way; we see them simply as *internally* commensurate creative phenomena, based in different art forms, that shed light on and clarify each other.

We will make one final conjecture: it is not impossible that there may be a link between one-point perspective and the formation of the particular phenomenon in musical hearing that Boleslav Yavorsky has called "inner aural tuning." According to Yavorsky, the "discovery" of inner aural tuning was a revolution more powerful than the Copernican, since as a result of it, "the human being achieved the capacity for thinking"[65]—thinking musically. We would add: thinking lyrically.

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[62] Engel 2003.

[63] Kakhetian song is a great exception. For more, see Tsitsishvili 2010.

[64] Steblin-Kamenskii 1976: 32. Cf. Gurevich 1984: 97; Sachs 1946: 101-103, 273.

[65] Iavorskii 1964: 523. Cf. also Iavorski 1987: 228 et passim (41-49, 124-126, 173-177, etc.).

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7. CONCLUSION: IN FAVOR OF BOLD HYPOTHESES

Let us summarize. What we have presented here is no more than a brief sketch. There is much that we have not yet fully worked out; indeed, there is much that have not yet even considered. Be that as it may, we think there is some value in putting forth our hypothesis that there exists a special category of solo music in oral tradition that consists of unique, melodically highly developed songs, masterpieces of "sung symphonism," or "the culture of drawn-out song." We may consider it to be an example in its own domain of what Asafyev has described as "that pinnacle in the history of every art form on which the efforts of years converge and suddenly give birth to a new kind of beauty."[66]

What is most important in working through this hypothesis is not a full accounting of all the evidence, but a methodological willingness to reconsider long-held ideas when the evidence conflicts with them. For that reason, our text will have no conclusion. Everything we have written here is just a beginning. It is not yet a dance, but an invitation to a dance. Refinements—and refutations—will follow. We are in agreement with John Platt, who insisted: "There is no point in making hypotheses that are not falsifiable because such hypotheses do not say anything."[67]

(Translated by Scott Bartling)

MUSICAL SUPPLEMENT[68]

Kazakh song "Iapyrai"

[66] Asaf'ev 1987: 29.
[67] Platt 1964.
[68] All sources are indicated within footnotes 4 and 43.

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Russian song “Remember”

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Tatar song “Kara urman”

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Mongolian song “Urtyn saikhan”

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MANELE MUSIC AS A MARKER OF COLLECTIVE SHAME IN THE ONLINE DISCOURSE OF THE ROMANIAN DIASPORA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

RUXANDRA TRANDAFOIU

ABSTRACT

This article charts the reception of *manele* music among the Romanian diaspora in the UK. Using a netnographic approach applied to an online diasporic community, it studies the replication of acerbic debates in Romania about the role of *manele* within Romanian musical tradition. It also shows how the racialization of the Roma and the rejection of *manele* as "inferior" music serve both psychological and political purposes for a community that has experienced a loss in status due to migration. *Manele* become thus the measuring tape of cultural taste but also markers of collective shame that separate the "good" Romanians from the "bad". These power games need to be understood in the context of old dissensions among Romanian elites related to Romania's uncomfortable belonging to the Balkans. They also represent a renewed contestation of Oriental influences in Romanian culture that threaten to disrupt Romania's presupposed belonging to the West.

Keywords: manele, Roma, Romania, diaspora, Orientalism, shame.

INTRODUCTION

Manele[1] have acquired an important status as one of the most popular music genres in Romania. Their popularity has been matched by fierce contestation. The development of the genre is associated with Roma music and musicians, whose contribution to traditional Romanian folklore is evident, but sits uncomfortably with Romanian preconceptions of cultural and ethnic authenticity. The genre's hybridity and Oriental influences also threaten to place Romanian music firmly in a Balkan context of rich cultural circulation, exchange and appropriation. The combined burdens of Balkanism and Orientalism thus resurface to deny what many Romanians consider to be their rightful belonging to Western culture and to a Europe they often feel excluded from. The postsocialist transition came along not

[1] I use the plural (*manele*) to indicate the richness and diversity of musical influences comprised in this genre.

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just with big questions about "who are we" and "where do we belong", but also with mass emigration that saw between three and five million Romanians travel to Western Europe for work. While diaspora theory usually sees immigrants as agents of change, displaying a cosmopolitan outlook, the loss in social status and confusion about appropriate ways to display cultural identity markers, can also bring along conservative and exclusionary practices. This chapter aims to trace these identity debates in the context of the consumption and circulation of *manele*. It does so by using netnography for data collection and analysis focusing on *Romanians in UK*, an online diasporic hub and associated *Facebook* group based in the United Kingdom. The first part of the article provides an overview of the role of *manele* in Romania's cultural renegotiation of identity in the postsocialist period, within the context of Balkanist, Orientalist and Westernization discourses. After a brief explanation of the methodology for data collection, two further sections focus on the instrumentalization of *manele* as a social and racial category, away from their natural musical home, and on *manele* as an indicator of collective shame in the context of migration.

MANELE, THE MEASURING TAPE OF TASTE

Manele are a mix of Romani, Romanian, Turkish and pop sounds (Beissinger 2016) and considered to be part of Balkan music more generally. *Manele* developed from *muzică lăutărească*, the first *manele* singers being *lăutari*[2]. The main characteristics[3] of *manele* are their unmistakable Oriental influences, specifically the *çiftetelli* rhythm, melody and instrumentation, and the use of traditional instruments like violins, accordions and cimbaloms, combined with synthetisers that give *manele* their electronic sound.

Although popular with many Romanians, *manele* have become a bone of contention both in cultural and political terms. Their association with the Roma, the most racialised and discriminated ethnic minority in the region, makes it difficult to accept *manele* as being an intrinsic part of Romania's musical heritage. This tendency is aggravated by the genre's hybridity, and its association with Turkish and Oriental influences. As Haliliuc (2015: 292) observes: "public intellectuals conflate *Manele* with the vilified Balkans and disidentify Romanian culture from both *Manele* performers and fans and from the Balkan region that the music would signify." In the view of those criticizing the embracing of *manele* at the level of popular culture, *manele* bring Romania (symbolically) closer to the South-East and the Orient and further away from a desired Western trajectory. These public debates embody the same ambivalence of love and hate that characterized

[2] Romani musicians playing in bands called *tarafs*. A historical professional category among the Roma, *lăutari* entertained guests at weddings, funerals and Romanian celebrations. *Muzică lăutărească* refers to the music played by *lăutari* at these community events.

[3] These distinguish the genre, to a certain extent, from other hybrid incarnations of "Balkan" offerings like the Bulgarian *chalga* or the Serbian turbo-folk.

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Todorova's (2009) well know description of Balkanism. Like Balkanism, *manele* are rejected for being too "Oriental", yet they are occasionally appropriated as a marker of cultural tradition. This ambivalence is partly driven by *manele*'s mix of traditional sounds that place them firmly in the Romanian folkloric tradition and lyrics that have little to do with village traditions and reflect instead the contradictions and challenges of postsocialist urban life. Some of the public intellectuals Haliliuc talks about[4] take offence with the unpleasant nature of the lyrics that deal with "one's own wealth, talent at running illegitimate businesses, threats of violence against rivals, as well as the objectification of women" (Ilioaia 2014). Because of their linguistic and thematic departure from traditional folklore, *manele* are also associated with "bad taste".

Musically, anti-*manele* attitudes ignore the genre's developing links to Western pop and hip-hop (Trandafoiu 2016) in favour of "nesting orientalisms" (Bakić-Hayden 1995). Various ethnopop genres are used to "describe ethno-cultural dimensions and mechanisms within society as West European – East European-Balkan – Turkish/Romani in descending order of negativity. They typify perceptions of culture: music that teeters on the threshold between East and West or "bad" versus "good" taste" (Beissinger 2016: 107). Consequently, while ethno rock is viewed positively, *manele* remain at the bottom rung of the value scale. Through these "Balkanist lenses, public intellectuals, television campaigns, and politicians created a symbolic environment in which the postsocialist subjects of Romania are prevented from recognizing and working through personal and societal fragmentation that accompanies adaptation to new political and economic structures" (Haliliuc 2015: 303).

Despite public rejection, the popularity of *manele* is growing with both audiences and performers. Several television and *YouTube* music channels[5] also dedicate much of their output to *manele*. The genre has overspilled its original ethnic boundaries, in the transition from "old" *manele* dominated by Romani musicians of *lãutar* tradition to "new" *manele* sung by Romanian musicians. While this transition has produced a diversification in sounds, themes and a multiplication of female performers in a genre that was once the exclusive domain of Romani males, the appropriation of *manele* by white Romanian males is often seen as unfair, and part of the tendency to appropriate the music of the Roma without attribution or recognition of its history (Silverman 2013). The effect on the Roma and their music is that "not only is their music no longer stylistically distinctive, but also they themselves are no longer necessary as performers" (Silverman 2015: 178). Thus, in a context that dilutes the Roma's symbolic and economic power achieved through *manele*, the "rhetorical identification with the position of cultural victim besieged by Roma and Balkan hybrid influences, which intellectuals have

[4] George Pruteanu and Ruxandra Cesereanu come from a linguistic background and express concerns about the grammatical and vocabulary distortions promoted by *manele*.

[5] Taraf, Favorit, Manele TV, Balkan Music TV and others.

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forged by reviving the discursive logic of Balkanism" (Haliliuc 2015: 303) becomes even more problematic.

Mihăilescu (2016) views *manele* as a "game of pride and shame". "By their Balkan/Oriental "nature"... They are a matter of shame for "official society," which perceives the manea trend as outrageous debauchery, a kind of falling back into Oriental moods and values: manele are a way of losing (national) face" (Mihăilescu, 2016: 256). Hybridity and ambivalence do not fit authenticity claims and threaten proclaimed uniqueness. However, in the almost vicarious pride that informally imbues *manele*'s popular spread, we can spot the manifestation of guilty pleasures. This can explain the gap between *manele*'s commercial success and their vilification by those who would like to see Romanian culture more aligned to Western customs. Many associate *manele* with bad taste and Balkanism, but they still listen to the music and know who the main performers are.

Current analyses of the representation of *manele* in public discourse focus almost exclusively on the views of public intellectuals. They also tend to reframe racism and anti-Roma attitudes as a desire for Europeanisation. However, it is important to understand whether Orientalist discourses or indeed the shame and pride ambiguity occasionally claimed in relation to *manele* have been cascaded down to the level of average people, particularly those who are expected to hold cosmopolitan attitudes. I refer here to migrants, who are traditionally viewed as more dynamic, aspirational and culturally open than average citizens. Consequently, the expectation is that once abroad, Romanians might exhibit more tolerance towards hybrid musical influences, recognize the role of *manele* in advancing Roma equality and display a less essentialist attitude about their Romanian cultural identity. It is not inconceivable that *manele* might be even praised for their ability to express the contradictions of the post-socialist transition and promote a sense of pride in Romania's multicultural heritage.

This article is an attempt to test this assumption, while nonetheless acknowledging that current migration research has highlighted that despite multicultural experiences, migrants are occasionally less not more tolerant. This happens for several reasons, but mainly because of discrimination leading to feelings of inferiority and the need to integrate at all costs, a process that includes displaying shame towards their home culture. As previous research has revealed (Macri 2010), the shame of being Romanian is compounded by the shame of being East European, due to a fascination with the West and the historic negative associations with the East and especially the Balkans. In a case of "nested orientalism"[6] at a distance, migrants would therefore not only replicate Balkanism and Orientalism, but perform an even more drastic rejection of difference by symbolically transferring any inadequacies onto the minority within: in our case, the Roma.

[6] Writing about the role of Muslims as "others" in the post-Yugoslav imaginary, Bakić-Hayden explains nesting orientalism as a process that shifts the ""essence" of "otherness" to different peoples, cultures and religions" (1995: 930).

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As Macri highlights in her digital ethnography with the Romanian community in Ireland, "otherness" has two important functions. Like other communities, Romanians use comparisons with "others" in the elaboration of their own identities and, more importantly "our image in the eyes of 'the Others' tends to put a significant constraint on who we are and who we claim we are" (Macri 2011: 129). Constant gazing, watching both us and others while others also watch us, often lead to feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, as well as shame and stigma (Macri 2011: 136). Shame can be counteracted by moving stigma onto another. To "pass", to use Goffman's (1963) classic terminology, the group needs to purge stigma by transferring it to a group that enjoys even less power, less recognition and less acceptance. *Self-stigmatization is thus managed by shifting negative characteristics onto others. This mechanism is not only unsuccessful in terms of expunging internalized stigma, but also creates hatred towards the Roma within the Romanian diaspora.*

The inescapable link between ethnicity and class promoted by migration (Mădroane 2021) also compounds feelings of shame. Recent Romanian migrants to the UK are, for the most part, low skilled. Consequently, they are assigned a low-class status in the British society, which encourages discrimination and resource scarcity. "Paradoxically, while migration is likely to enhance their social status at home, migrants may have to put up with discrimination and exploitation at their destination and with ensuing sentiments of shame" (Mădroane 2021: 63). However, shame can be internalised or rejected, since migration can be construed as a mechanism for countering poverty in the home country and gaining agency. The "moral emotion of shame" (Mădroane 2021: 76) can therefore be negotiated.

The following analysis is an attempt to establish whether indeed there is a negotiation in the way the culture of the homeland is exhibited in the consumption and circulation of music, or whether, there is an outright rejection of *manele* among migrant groups because of the shame and stigma that comes with being gazed upon as a migrant. While referring to the example of Bulgarian folklore, Todorova makes the valid observation that: "What is interesting here is not the problem of reception of art in a different cultural context or milieu, but (...) in a broader sense the problem of the sensibility of the observed being aware of being observed" (2009: 60). In this case, despite higher expectations of tolerance among the diaspora, one could also expect the negative impact of the fear of being judged and found wanting. *Thus, migrants would enact a "pick and mix" approach, through which they would appropriate elements of high culture, but reject types of music that they perceive to be too Eastern or inferior. As* Bakić-Hayden reminds us, "the construction of "essences" is ultimately motivated by political (or other) power and only obscured by symbolism of some other, "higher" purpose" (1995: 930). In this case, acts of cultural inclusion or exclusion would be motivated by perceived power hierarchies which place migrants in subaltern positions.

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METHODOLOGY

The research used netnography (Kozinets 2020) as the main method of collecting and interpreting data. Netnography is "a specific *way to conduct qualitative social media research*" (Kozinets 2020: 7)[7] that entails specific processes of selection, interaction, immersion, analysis and interpretation of social media texts. It aims to understand the "cultural experiences" (Kozinets 2020: 14) of actors interacting online. I used this approach in a previous study of Romanian diasporic groups online (Trandafoiu 2013).

This time I returned to one of the online diasporic hubs I had studied a decade ago. *Romanians in UK* has been the primary information portal for Romanians living in the UK for the past twenty years. Its discussion forum contains virtual posts and threads on 11,000 different topics organized in 12 categories, from practical information about life in the UK, to sport and entertainment. Over 56,000 users have participated in these discussions. I used the search facility in the community forum to look for posts containing the word "manele". The search returned 294 results. The posts comprised the period 6 November 2000 to 12 January 2015. They fell into two main categories: posts advertising events that included *manele* music and posts that represented the opinions and discussions of the community on a variety of topics that nevertheless included a mention of *manele*. In their turn, these mentions could be categorized into different types: some participants in the online forum used *manele* to refer to the musical genre, while others used *manele* as a social descriptor. In this latter case, most typically a category of Romanian nationals was described as *manele* lovers to connote education level, social type or ethnicity. However, there was overlap between the two uses and often the commentary transitioned seamlessly from *manele* used to refer to the musical genre to *manele* being used as a social category.

In line with established netnographic ethical protocols, cloaking was used for protecting the identity of the participants. As Kozinets explains (2020: 400), cloaking may include the name of the social media site, however, online pseudonyms and other means of identification need to be removed. Although the risk of harm is low, since the posts have been translated from Romanian into English, which makes them less traceable and the authors less identifiable, the research corpus contains racist language. By removing actual names and online pseudonyms, those making derogatory comments cannot be identified.

Since no mention of *manele* was made after 2015 and the traffic on the community forum seemed sparce, I contacted Inno Brezeanu, the site's initiator and administrator to enquire about more current community discussions. Brezeanu replied[8] to indicate that "The communication style has changed a lot over the past

[7] Emphasis in the original.

[8] E-mail communication on 6 and 7 September 2022.

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few years, the forums are largely abandoned... People mainly communicate on Facebook, there are hundreds of Romanian groups on Facebook which are organised by city or area. The new generation doesn't really communicate, they mainly exchange photos on Snapchat."

I consequently switched my attention to the Facebook equivalent of the *Romanians in UK* diasporic hub. This public Facebook group has, at the time of writing in September 2022, 48.5 thousand members. Two types of searches were performed, one for the hashtag *#manele* and a general one for any post containing the word *manele*.

The hashtag search only yielded three posts, which are analysed in the following section of this article. The general word search, on the other hand, generated numerous posts. To prevent a replication of the older comments observed in the discussion forum, only the most recent twenty posts were selected for analysis. This approach allowed for an updated view of how *manele* are talked about, while also providing the advantage of a comparative assessment. These recent posts span spring and summer 2022.

The analysis looked for any shifts that might have occurred in the way Romanians in the UK talk about *manele* and the role *manele* play in the Romanian diasporic imaginary. Modifications in meaning and role in the move from *Romani in UK* discussion forum to *Romani in UK* Facebook group were expected. Important changes in diaspora's demographics had occurred in the last decade in the UK, from Romanians being a marginal community, to becoming one of the biggest foreign-born communities in the UK, currently standing at well over a million. During this time, changes had also occurred in the music industry, in the transition from "old manele" which were the almost exclusive domain of Roma musicians, to "new manele", a genre hybridised by even more musical influences, notably pop, and "democratised", one could argue, by the presence of non-Roma musicians and a significant number of women. Whether the expectations were met is discussed in the following section.

MANELE AS A SOCIAL AND RACIAL CATEGORY

The analysis starts with an overview of the posts generated by the search of the community forum hosted by *Romanians in UK*. Between 2013 and 2015 the forum was inundated with posts publicizing club nights and venues that played *manele* music among an impressive mix of other genres. London based clubs like Ciao Ciao Club Kilburn, Club Funky Hendon or Unique Club Finchley thus advertised *manele* among Balkan, Latino, house, R&B, *lăutărească* and *grecească*. House DJs like Frantz, Francess and Adrian T. were frequently joined by guests like Alex Velea, Delia Matache, Andra, Antonia, Pepe, Puya, Directia 5, Anda Adam, White Sensation and Andreea Banica. The club mix described above was typically billed as "Romanian retro party", "Traditional Romanian Night", *Petrecere tradițională*

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românească[9], *Muzică de petrecere*[10] and *Karaoke românesc*[11]. Posts (such as one on 31st of December 2013) called participants to party (*să petrecem*) "with good Romanian music (House, Manele, Latino, R&B, Blue)'. Advertising fliers further described the mix as being "*Lăutarească – Manele* – House – Dance – Latino" or "*Lăutarească – Manele – Populară* – Dance – House – *Grecească*".

These posters indicate the mainstreaming of *manele* as part of a hybrid that combines Balkan music (e.g., *grecească*) with the global sounds of House, Dance and Latin music. The popularity of *manele* within the club scene shows that the genre's recognition has cascaded beyond its initial boundaries (music played at family events by mainly Romani musicians) into the mainstream Romanian club scene. Moreover, the mainstreaming now includes Romanian communities abroad who attempt to replicate the club scene back home by inviting DJs and musicians from the homeland. While this evolution could be interpreted as a process of popularization and democratization, it also signals a disconnection between the original signification of *manele* and its current wider consumption practices. Through appropriation and mainstreaming, *manele* have been culturally disembedded from their original cultural and ethnic space and has been depoliticized through reframing and resignification.

This process has entailed giving a new meaning, or rather diluting the original relevance of *manele* as contemporary Roma music for celebratory occasions. In the new context where Romanianness is expressed at a distance, *manele* only mean having a good old Romanian time. The process of appropriation also sees Balkan and *manele* music as enhancers of Romanian identity expressed through the ability to have a good time and party like no other. Some of the party nights invited audiences to wear traditional Romanian clothes and, consequently, win special prizes. Like the traditional Romanian blouse "ie", *manele* have become standout elements that signify Romanianness. These visual and aural identity markers are thus both exoticized and commodified. Romanianness at a distance is both enhanced and easily traded. What happens on the Romanian club scene in London is an interesting process of re-evaluation of what constitutes national culture when abroad. This revision shows both a bottom-up approach (revellers love to dance to the beats) and a top-down one, with DJs and club promoters including *manele* into a wider mix of dance music.

It was therefore even more puzzling to note that while Romanians in London were happy to listen to *manele* in the clubs, they maintained a patronizing attitude towards the genre in the conversations that took place in the online forum. There was an overwhelming tendency to reject *manele* as good music or part of a valuable cultural tradition. This was evident in the predisposition to avoid *manele* music. Emi (7 Nov. 2011), for example, asked for recommendations for a "decent"

[9] Traditional Romanian party.
[10] Party music.
[11] Romanian Karaoke.

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Romanian restaurant in London that doesn't play *manele*, because she wanted to bring along her English friends. As it was not a unique request, Emi's attitude shows that *manele* have become a marker of embarrassment or shame among some Romanians. In discussing the community's music choices for an upcoming reunion Scar (31 Jan 2010) asked the organizers to avoid playing *manele* and added that he also had "an issue with Romanian hip-hop and its extremely explicit lyrics".

Some posts (by Kia on 14 July 2011) associated the love of *manele* with poor literacy. *Manele* were also seen as an indicator of "lack of civilization" and "manners", even when absent. In a post on 28 June 2011, during a visit to London, Figgy compared UK's capital to Bucharest and observed that the absence of *manele* ringtones, common in Bucharest's tube stations, allowed her to have a restful holiday. Although she described London positively, she criticized the occasional presence of badly dressed and morose Eastern Europeans. Figgy's posts suggest an association between *manele* and anything Balkan or Eastern, considered inferior to Western ways of life.

On rare occasions, forum participants discussed *manele* as a music genre and not as an indicator of bad taste. Katy (17 June 2009) observed: 'in the old days I used to listen to Oriental music at parties; only after 2am you got blues. *Manele* only started to circulate in the 90s. There is better music than that, that engages more of your senses, not entirely sentimental. These new *manele* should be banned, in my opinion. Old *muzică lautarească* represented so much more...' Such posts create a hierarchy of quality between old and new *manele*, but they also give value to the music played by *lăutars*.

Lon (17 Feb 2009) observed: "I am to a certain extent a fan of authentic oriental music. Current Romanian reworkings are far removed from it.' In a further post he explained how he saw *manele* as a commercial re-elaboration of more traditional music. Andy (16 Feb 2009) similarly stated that some folk artists "pimped" Romanian folklore. Phin (16 Feb. 2009) thought that in the 1990s *manele* broke away from true *muzică lautarească*, although old *manele* still "had some quality" in comparison to contemporary iterations. Rab (16 Feb 2009), a former DJ in the 1990s, mentioned that *manele* had always features among personal requests at parties. When Damian & Brothers were invited to the Romanian Cultural Institute in London, he explained, "people danced in the aisles without shame". Despite their popularity, he himself hated *manele*, so he usually compromised by playing both *manele* and traditional folk music, sung by Maria Tănase. In these posts there is a clear tendency to see a division between the old and the new, between authenticity and contamination, between music that can be included into the Romanian cultural repertoire and music that is negated.

Ame (11 March 2011) deplored the degeneration of *muzică lautarească* into *manele* while observing that Bregović would never be a fan of *manele* or adopt them for his albums[12]. Andy replied to ton Ame's comment by saying that beyond

[12] This presumption turned out not to be true.

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the melody, *manele* also have problematic lyrics. In response to this exchange, Figgy posted an interview with Goran Bregović, published in the Romanian press. While promoting his album *Alkohol* in 2011, Bregović described *manele* as "urban Gypsy music"[13] and praised his collaboration with *manelist* Florin Salam, who, according to Bregović, always brought something new to the music.

When asked about the commercialization of Gypsy music in his 2011 interview, Bregović replied that it is far from being commercial. Instead, his description of *manele* and "Gypsy" music more generally was one that praised *manele*'s local origins and the Romanian essence of the music:

"When I first came to Romania, I listened to a *manele* CD and loved it. *Manele* is my favourite music in Romania. I love Gypsy music because it doesn't just produce sounds, it also produces madness, it sits aside from the usual tones. I think that's why we loved punk in the beginning; its rhythms were different from other musical genres. Traditional Gypsy music has evolved, Gypsies moved to the city, so it's normal that its rhythms have changed. That's what *manele* means to me: a sort of urban Gypsy music. Florin Salam is modern, more modern than the previous generation of *manele* singers. He is a kind of hip-hop artist of the *manele*, he feels free, and you can see that" (Mitan 2011)[14].

When asked about the ambiguous reputation of manele in Romania, Bregović replied that "it is a question of taste. So, what if university graduates do not listen to manele? I have no issues, I'm not Romanian, I am not prejudiced. The more the Gypsies are badmouthed, the prouder they are. When I am in the presence of Gypsy musicians, I feel I am in the presence of true art" (Mitan 2011).

In the online discussion that ensued the posting of Bregović's interview, the more acceptant voices were drowned by those whose opinion was that manele listening equates with being a cocălar, which in Romanian is the equivalent of "Chav". Any support for manele was labelled as endorsement for cultural devaluation. Some participants felt phonically aggressed by the high sound levels of manele and their widespread presence.

In a similar post, Demy (17 June 2009) commented: "I hate Gypsies who speak broken English, Romanians who listen to *manele* on the bus and, of course English *cocălari* who give Romanian *cocălari* a run for their money." These attitudes showed that the Romanian diaspora in the UK had adopted elements of the British class system, through which cultural elements are used as class markers and to reinforce social hierarchies. If one expects Eastern diasporas to imbue elements of more liberal Western cultures, this example shows an opposite reaction: some Romanians become more conservative and less inclusive in their views, while keen to express their

[13] While *muzică țigănească* (Gypsy music) is an accepted label that is widely used in Romania for promotion and videoclip titles that help with *YouTube* search algorhythms, in the English-speaking academic world the word 'Gypsy' has been largely replaced by 'Roma' and 'Romany', with academics of Romani descent like Ian Hancock being clear advocates of this linguistic (and political) shift. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EF_SNLdqDsI.

[14] My own translation from Romanian into English.

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belonging to what they perceive to be the superior British culture. *Manele* are also used to reinforce boundaries between those eager to integrate and those Romanians who may not pass the taste test. These "lower-grade" Romanians are grouped with the Roma and members of the Moldovan community, who are conceived by some elements of the Romanian diaspora to be "inferior" or "spoilt" Romanians. In a long post on 17 Aug. 2011, for example, Nino complained about those who had *"manele* in their headphones and gold on their fingers", while describing Romanian Roma and Moldovan citizens in London.

At certain points in the discussions, it is easy to detect a slippage from *manele* understood as a (contested) musical category to *manele* as a social category and finally to *manele* as a racial category. In the latter incarnation, *manele* music became an instrument of racialization and discrimination. Hat (6 Sep. 2011) bemoaned Roma who called themselves Romanian and who did not show up to GP appointments, despite requesting interpreters, or attended but answered phones with *manele* ringtone during the consultation. Icy (19 May 2010) talked about the image that Romanians have in the UK and used course language to complain that Romanians are often mistaken for the Roma, a problem exacerbated by Romanians listening to *manele*, which is "Gypsy music". Andy (26 April 2010) also inferred that the love of gold and *manele*, together with a lack of cleanliness, puts a section of the Romanian community in an in-between category: they are not Roma, but they are not "cultivated" (read "civilized") Romanians either. Phin (8 March 2010) complained about the Gypsification of the Romanian society, as expressed by Romanians' love for *manele* and telenovelas, at odds, in their view, with the political aims of the 1989 anti-communist revolution. Many (22 Jan 2010) similarly thought that "we protected the Roma because the Europeans said that it was a "cool" thing to do; we watched with open mouths Gypsy telenovelas, listened to *manele* on high with the car windows open. Consequently, the image of the average Romanian abroad is associated with that of the Roma, more so in the UK, where they have known us for less time." In these posts we see *manele* instrumentalised in the service of racism and anti-Roma attitudes, but also used as a weapon in a cultural war fought by Romanians against Romanians.

In these views *manele* are associated with low quality, Gypsification, Chav culture, poor image of Romanians abroad and dumbed down television. As *manele* is clearly a popular genre at parties, but pro-*manele* views are virtually absent from the online discussions, we can assume that Romanians self-censor their true musical preferences because of negative associations. While many loudly reject *manele*, they do not necessarily boycott the genre and know enough about it to give ample examples and talk about who is who in the industry.

MANELE AS COLLECTIVE SHAME

The analysis of the Facebook group *Romanians in UK* proves that current debates have indeed moved to this online community, although some of the *manele*

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related ones carry on some of the themes identified previously, in the online discussion forum. The initial search for the use of the hashtag *#manele* only brought up one post from June 2019, which was advertising Pasha restaurant and its services. The advertised music included, according to the post's description and hashtags, live music, ambiental, *manele* and *muzică de petrecere*. The hashtag *#maneaua* was identified in one post from November 2014. The post simply said: "I didn't think there was something worse[15] sounding than #maneaua!!! #WTF" The rather ambiguous post had one like but no comments.

The hashtag *#freemanele* was found in one post from May 2016, in which the contributor shared a news story about a fight breaking out on a Bucharest tram between one of the passengers and a young man listening to *manele* too loudly. The post earned eleven likes and 15 comments. Most of them were racist remarks aimed at the Roma community, using course language. One contributor referred to Antonescu's "unfinished business"[16]; one participant called *manele* a "virus"; another claimed that "*manele* has wrecked our young people". Associated with a lack of "culture", "civilization" and "manners", *manele* were thus blamed for ruining "our saintly tradition inherited from our forefathers".

Once the search for hashtags was exhausted, a general search for the word *manele* was undertaken, with the most recent twenty posts spanning the summer of 2022 selected for analysis. They included around a hundred comments. On the rare occasion that *manele* were mentioned in relation to music, the posts imparted information about concerts, television programmes and news about *manelişti*[17]. Video messages featuring Nicolae Guță, a famous *manele* singer, invited audiences to a *manele* festival, but these posts did not yield any comments. A post advertising sound systems for UK events that included folklore, Romanian and international pop music (*muzică usoară romanească si internațională*) and *manele* also lacked reactions.

The posts and ensuing comments in which *manele* were instrumentalised as descriptors of race and class were nevertheless more popular. In these posts people listening to *manele* were typically described as Gypsies, "cocălari" and "boschetari"[18], lacking "manners", eating and spitting out sunflower seeds, living in poor conditions and using bad grammar. Occasionally, they were described as living in "tents", another reference to the perceived transient lifestyle of the Roma. The disclaimer "I have no *manele* on my phone" was used as a mark of class and ethnic identity[19]. Although the words Balkans and Balkanism do not appear among the comments, their association is inferred. People and places within the Balkan area can be construed as being inferior with regards to tastes and behaviours.

[15] The Romanian word used here is „naṣpa".

[16] This is a reference to former Romanian Prime-Minister Ion Antonescu, whose fascist views resulted in the persecution and death of hundreds of thousands of Jews and Roma during World War Two.

[17] Manele singers.

[18] This description would be similar to "hobo", "drifter" or "tramp" and is offensive.

[19] The rejection of *manele* was seen as an indicator of Romanianness and having a better education.

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Apart from being used as a tool for racializing and marginalizing groups, the word *manele* is also used to delineate a difference between Romania and the UK. Generally, Romania is viewed as having a weaker education system, being backward and corrupt, and being besieged by more criminality and social issues than the UK. Romania's inferior status is often mentioned as a reason to emigrate. At the same time, nostalgia is expressed with reference to Romanian traditions, foods, family events and unparalleled landscapes, that prompt some to announce, "I have never hidden my origins." Sandra's comment from May 2022 summarises this comparative approach: "Those who travel are usually passionate about history and culture. But the majority of Romanians are not, they only know about resorts, *mici*[20], beer and *manele*". Criticism coupled with nostalgia may seem inconsistent, but it is not unique in migration literature. Previous research with Romanians in Ireland encountered a similar nostalgia for Romania's beautiful countryside and praise for Romania's history but shame with regards to Romania's social and political landscape (Macri 2011).

One of the outcomes is the construction of Romanians as "good citizens" and that of the Roma or *manele* lovers as "bad citizens" in a complex process of building barriers that are both ethnicity and class related in the context of migration and diasporic life. The activation of an exclusion-inclusion mechanism through discourse has important consequences. One is the effect on the Roma minority. A study of young Romani students (Pantea 2014) revealed that the Roma "experienced shame not because of resenting their origin, but because they were very aware at the negative connotations being attributed to the Roma" (Pantea 2014: 611). The importance of the outside gaze and the ensuing (self)re-evaluation is also evident in the case of Romanians, who in the diaspora shift from being a majority to becoming a minority. This diminishing of their symbolic social status may account for the survival of negative attitudes directed at *manele*.

The biggest difference observed between the old online discussion group and the new Facebook community group was not in the way *manele* was perceived, but in language. Facebook allows, in the absence of moderators with the right to exclude rude people from the group, the intensifying of emotional and discriminatory language. The language was coloured with expletives and prejudiced words, indicating the ability of this communication platform to support the radicalization of anti-Roma discourse. To give just one example of this unfortunate outcome, mentions of the Roma were occasionally accompanied by GIFs featuring black people and crows.

CONCLUSION

There is a clear dissonance between the popularity of *manele* and their outright rejection in discussions about culture, identity and music. Embraced by the

[20] *Mici* are skinless meat sausages found in various incarnations throughout Souh-Eastern Europe.

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club circuit, music promoters and DJs, they are loathed by a segment of the Romanian society and its diaspora. This dissonance is indicative of a deepening of social fissures in postsocialist Romania and of a mirroring of those ruptures within communities that construct Romanianness at a distance. *Manele* are not a guilty pleasure, but one that instils profound feelings of shame.

The following post by Many (26 Nov 2009) summarizes this tendency: "We say "Manele are horrible, and we don't like them", but we all go like sheep to clubs that play manele...And God forbid, "I'm not dancing, to protest against manele" but we get pissed there and bring business to the same clubs." A shameful complicity describing the cognitive dissonance created by *manele* is also obvious in Mik's (19 June 2009) post: "it is us Romanians who sell and promote Gypsy shows all over the television". He was replying to Darrel (18 June 2009) who had posted "it is wrong to say that *cocălari* who listen to manele and *muzică lautarească* are Gypsy. Many Romanians who have nothing to do with the Gypsy race listen to manele." Rab (18 June 2009) observed that the majority of *maneliști* are Romanian but added: "I also like *muzică lautarească* and Gypsy music, but not manele." Some participants attempted to justify their musical preference by separating traditional Romanian folklore from hybrids that reinforce Oriental sounds, when the barrier is often porous. These artificial barriers indicate the ethnicization and politicization of Romanian music, as well as the recirculation of old tropes of Balkanism and Orientalism.

In their rejection of *manele* as a valuable cultural product and marker of Romanian identity, both pro-Western intellectuals and immigrants expose an interesting paradox: they claim to hold Western values, but in fact promote typically Eastern brands of ethnic nationalism and racism. In the case of the diaspora, anti-Muslim attitudes encountered in the West, enhance their refutation of the Orient as a cultural home. The renegotiation of musical tastes in the context of the old Romanian obsession with Westernization and the perceived problematic hybridity of Romanian culture, leads to replaying old arguments. The East and the Orient are not accepted as valid cultural anchors, but their influence is used as a self-exoticization device. *Manele* are not part of Romanian culture, but they somehow make Romanians stand out. Consequently, they become more than a musical genre; they become a cultural, social and ethnic category that is instrumentalised for various purposes, using nostalgic references to a past that is no more.

The tendency of the Romanian diaspora in the UK to obsessively generate labels and name categories of citizens, is a futile exercise that only serves the community's internal logic. Outside it, the British public would not specifically recognize Roma as Roma and Romanians as Romanians, particularly in the context of large Indian and Eastern European immigrations to the UK. Moreover, they would be unaware of any cultural traits or social categories in the Romanian context. The accusations of *manele* giving a bad name to Romanians, encouraging

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the confusion between Roma and Romanians or lowering the status of Romanian culture do not have a base in reality, when knowledge about Romania, Eastern Europe or *manele* music is poor.

The difference between *muzică lautarească* and *manele* is also ideologized. Traditionally *lăutari* featured in the background of community events, they provided musical accompaniment to the proceedings and lacked the attention and status accorded to *manele* performers. The *lăutar* was part of an amorphous group, while *manele* singers are musical stars in their own right. However, Romanian audiences remain in control of celebratory events, through a system of music dedications accompanied by money offerings that display wealth and create a contractual obligation for the *manele* performer to sing. This is a mechanism through which hierarchies of power are re-established between Romanians and Roma. A similar mechanism is deployed by Romanians online when they show more tolerance for the *lăutari* and their subservient status than for *manele* celebrities. It is an attempt to place *manele* musicians back into a subservient position.

These processes of racialization have historical roots: "A historical framework is crucial for an understanding of contemporary *manelişti*: the centuries-long enslavement of Roma in the Romanian principalities and the important role of lăutari, the male house slaves who provided music for their masters. While slaves were emancipated 150 years ago, *lăutari* have continued to carry on the tradition of making music for dominant society – precisely what *manelişti* persist in doing today. Mainstream Romanian society-controlled Roma – and *lăutari* – for hundreds of years, and while the nature of the control has changed since emancipation, the legacy of this institutionalized role in society has remained" (Beissinger, 2016: 131-2).

Racialization is even more important in the context of migration, with migrants attempting to recover their status as "masters" by hand-picking elements of culture while discriminating against the Roma and displaying ambivalent attitudes with regards to their heritage. It is essential therefore to continue to study the role of music in processes of political transition, as well as the cultural transition inevitably experienced through migration and mobility. Both are important indicators of how a culture sees itself and negotiates its position at the interface between West and East.

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NEO-FOLKLORE MOTIFS IN A CHEN YI'S PIANO WORK

PEIHONG YANG

ABSTRACT

The blending of traditional and cross-cultural musical elements improves musical compositions and piano playing techniques. The research purpose is to investigate the main features of neo-folklore motifs in the piano work of Chen Yi and analyse the specifics of piano art in the work *To E*. The research used different methods of analysis, comparison, and calculation for the Socio-Metric Rating Index and the Efficiency Ratio. The analysis revealed that the main indicator was a novelty in music that was evident in the development of different cultures, the new artistic ideas, and the use of a modal system, new rhythmic intonations and structures. The practical significance is in the use of neo-folklore features in the process of creating new compositions and improvising on the piano. Future research is needed to investigate neo-folklore features and compare several pieces of music reflecting cross-cultural traditions.

Keywords: artistic effect, instrumental performance, intercultural influence, intonation flexibility, rhythmic beat.

INTRODUCTION

Chinese piano creativity is influenced by traditional and modern music, which helps to reflect the realities of musical culture (Zheng and Leung 2021). The Chinese professional piano school began in the 1910s and has been considered a starting point of modern Chinese piano music (Van 2018). Piano creativity is a mixture of national and European traditions, manifested in playing changes and repertoire diversity (Xue and Loo 2019).

One of the key features is playing with the right hand, based on tonal thinking and the development of atonal technique (pitch playing characterised by illogical note sequences used to create harmonious sound effects) with the use of the left hand (Wan 2022). The cross-cultural influence in Chinese piano music has also led to the revision of the musical theory and the writing of piano compositions (Gao 2021).

An important feature of piano music is the blend of folk traditions, which influenced the development of different arrangements that affect the artistry,

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expressiveness, texture and sound quality (Xu 2018). The folk traditions in piano music manifest in a subtle sound, lively tempo and unique rhythmic patterns (Dai 2021). Chinese piano music is based on enhanced sound quality, thought-out intonation, and bright melodic patterns, which reflect national uniqueness (Tang 2021). Lively melodic patterns promote compositional change and facilitate the development of contemporary melodies (Gibbs 2021). The inner meaning of piano music allows composers to develop ancient Chinese poetic thought with an artistic effect (Wang and Luo 2022). Piano compositions based on classical poetry increase music popularity among a wide target audience (Xu 2018).

A striking stylistic trend in piano work is neo-folklorism, which manifests in new relationships between folklore and creativity (Cheng *et al.* 2022). Neo-folklorism in piano music reflects a holistic music structure, evident in a dynamic experience subject to influence beyond just intonation, modal structure, rhythm, and melody (Li and Southcott 2015). Neo-folklorism promotes a mixture of musical genres, including lyrical and rhythmic music. Moreover, the crossing of genres in a free way facilitates an updated interpretation of melodies and manifests in music expressiveness and imagery (Ye 2018). Neo-folklorism also supports the blending of European traditions in piano music. Changes in metro-rhythm patterns, modal structure, energy, and brightness are common features of this type of music. In modern piano music, the most well-known neo-folklorist composer is Chen Yi (Ye 2018).

Chen Yi is a Chinese-American composer who skilfully links artistry and dramaturgy in her piano works (Bain 2020). A key feature of her piano music is her orientation toward European music. Chen Yi's work is marked by the development of new playing techniques, which appeared in the blending of modern music and Western music traditions (Kielian-Gilbert 2020). The modern compositions reflect the features of national melodies and music modes used during the classical and romantic periods. The modern pieces of music reflected Chinese folk traditions, songs and folk features of instrumental music (Kielian-Gilbert 2020). The playing techniques and the melodies follow a five-step modal structure that influences intonation patterns and accompaniment (Dai 2021). The musical elegance and brightness of Chen Yi's music contribute to the vivid musical patterns and the use of melisma (Bain 2020).

The piano work *To E* represents a new creative approach to piano music that is evident in live performance, rhythmic sound, unique national patterns and dissonant chords common to European music (Dai 2021). The modernity of the sound is reflected in the polyphony, smooth melodic transitions, and imitation of the gongs and drums typical for Chinese music (Bain 2020). To analyse the neo-folklore motifs in the composer's piano work, the scholars reviewed the layer of scientific literature on Chinese piano music and neo-folklorism.

The analysis of the piano trio *INO-2* reveals the uniqueness of the stylistic, melodious and rhythmic patterns common for neo-folklore motifs. The stylistic

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features of the composition are based on the synthesis of traditional folklore and modern musical techniques. The first part reflects folk genres, imitating the sounds of a ballad full of melisma and intonation changes.

Asymmetric rhythm is marked by a change in the eights. The polyphonic techniques have a positive impact on the development of neo-folklorism (Djalilova 2019). Chen Yi's piano compositions are based on the interplay of Chinese and Western music, characterised by their brilliance and playing mastery. The play *To E* is based on a variety of compositional approaches, supported by ancient Chinese traditions and philosophy, which improves performance techniques. Her compositions have a unique musical system, characterised by tonality and a unique framework. Improvisational techniques are characterised by the presence of high but, emotional experience, lyrical melodies and flexible melodic patterns (Shen 2011).

The musical works of Chen Yi are characterised by inner meaning and folklore elements as well as unique musical features, aesthetics, and dynamics. The pieces of music are distinctive because they have musical contrasts, symbolism, and a variety of patterns that influence the popularisation of music among different social groups (Kielian-Gilbert 2020). The blending of Eastern and Western traditions of piano music lead to some problems with different historical developments of music. To mitigate the cultural differences in music, expressive elements should be used to guide the development of new musical forms. The traditional oral music, and the artistic and technical means of modern music influence the development of neo-folklorism. The originality of neo-folklorism in Azerbaijan is associated with the national musical thinking reflected in piano music (Mikayılova 2020). The popularisation of Chinese piano music is achieved by using modern musical elements that allow a musician to vary the timbre, rhythm, and melody. The national uniqueness is a result of borrowing folk song melodies. The contrast between themes and sounds adds brightness and emotional colouring to the performance (Lu 2022).

The folklore in professional piano music influences the creation of neo-folklore motifs. A holistic musical image has a positive impact on the expressiveness of the sound. The borrowing of composers' techniques from different countries improves the Western modal manner of performance and preserves the national traditions. The musical arrangement supports the artistic skills, modification and enrichment of melodies (Cheng *et al.* 2022). Cultural and historical factors influence the interest in piano music and musical thinking. The multi-ethnic character changes the understanding of piano music and performance models. The blending of national and Chinese elements affects the artistry of performance and the sound images as a result of understanding the sound patterns (Deng 2022).

Piano creativity is marked by the brightness of interpretation and the polyphonic genres, formed as a result of the musical thinking evolution. The neo-

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folklorism enriches musical compositions with different moods, experiences, and images. Creative individuality is manifested in the musical elements. Imitating the sounds of other musical instruments influences the creation of textured elements, bright, and expressive instrumental possibilities (Chernyavska and Mengzhe 2021).

The blending of European traditions with Chinese piano art has been subjected to global changes. Musical expressiveness affects the genre and manner of musical performance. The diversity of creativity in piano performances is evident in the content and thematic patterns. The variety of musical modes, metre and rhythmic systems affects the originality and uniqueness of expression (Ye 2018). Li Yinghai's piano works are based on European and Western traditions, which cause a change in compositional techniques. The works reflect a polyphonic manner of performance, achieved as a result of a comparison of independent melodic lines. Based on the sound calmness, conciseness of images, and rhythmic musical patterns link different musical elements borrowed across countries (Van 2018). The scholars used the sources of literature to analyse the uniqueness of neo-folklore motifs, a change in compositional techniques and a combination of intercultural musical traditions.

The research purpose was to identify the key features of non-folklore motifs found in Chen Yi's piano work and research the features of piano art in the work *To E*. Research objectives are the following:

- analysing the key features of neo-folklorism and identifying the key features of Chen Yi's play *To E*;
- investigating the features of the piano composition *To E*, based on three parts of the work;
- analysing the key features of the musical parts and their significance for the preservation of neo-folklore motifs.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Research design

In the first stage, the scholars identify the key features of neo-folklore motifs and ideas that manifest themselves in music. The key features were identified using the method of analysis (Wang 2020). The analysis method helped to single out the common elements by comparing the features of the inner meaning of musical genres, frequency of use in compositions, popularisation among listeners, and differences from other motifs. The scholars focused on these features and rated the main elements for the following:

- a novelty in music;
- the blending of different cultures;
- intonation flexibility;
- artistic improvement of folklore;
- diversity of technical and stylistic techniques.

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In the second stage, the researchers analysed the key features of neo-folklorism in Chen Yi's piano work *To E*. The work *To E* was chosen for analysis because it combined the core elements of Chinese and European musical cultures important for neo-folklorism. The Socio-Metric Ranking Index was used to identify the positive and negative elements of music (Wang 2020):

$$l_s = \frac{\sum(q_p + q_n)}{N-1} \quad (1)$$

q_p – *relative assessment of the positive impact of the parameter;*

q_n – *relative negative assessment of the positive impact of the parameter;*

N – *a number of parameters.*

Further, the scholars analysed the piano work *To E* and paid special attention to key features of the three main parts (the main theme, middle and final parts). Based on the comparison, the differences between the parts were identified, which influenced their structure, tempo, and rhythm. Comparison is a logical technique used to analyse different features. The comparison method is possible to apply to one common feature, in this case, neo-folklore motifs. The different semantic parameters are influenced by cultural uniqueness and traditional motifs found in Chinese music.

At the final stage, the scholars analysed the brightness of the performance and the relationships between the parts of the play *To E* with neo-folklore motifs. Their analysis was based on the efficiency coefficient:

$$k_{ef} = \frac{k_{kn}}{k_m} \quad (2)$$

k_m – *relative estimation;*

k_{kn} – *maximum allowable value.*

The indicators comparison using the contingency coefficient was based on the following:

$$k_c = \sqrt{\frac{\varphi^2}{[\![(k]\!]_1 - 1)[\![(k]\!]_2 - 1)\ldots[\![(k]\!]_n - 1)}} \quad (3)$$

φ^2 – *linear relationship between parameters (a number between 0 and 1, where 1 indicates a high relationship between quantities);*

k_1, k_2, k_n – *a number of indicators.*

Sample

The research involved 127 future pianists from LongYan City Fujian Province. The main selection condition was that the participants should be the last course students who take in the piano programme and have already acquired the necessary theoretical and practical skills. Originally, the research planned to involve 130 pianists, but 3 students refused to participate in the experimental part for unspecified reasons. The pianists were involved in the final stage of the research only, which was initially agreed upon with students.

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Statistical processing

The statistical data processing was performed using Microsoft Excel. The Excel programme was used to calculate the data and obtain the necessary results using formulas of different complexity. Moreover, the scholars visualised diagrams based on the data obtained.

Ethical issues

The research ensured compliance with ethical standards following the provisions of the International Code of Practice for Marketing and Sociological Research ICC/ESOMAR (ESOMAR 2016). Under these provisions, no conflicts of interest in the work, relevance and data were identified. No previously published results were used in the research.

Research limitations

The main research limitations were the analysis of one piano play *To E*, excluding the analysis of other similar pieces of music. Despite the limitations, the key features of this work were identified by the research and their comparison with the key features of neo-folklorism was made.

Results

Initially, the key features of neo-folklorism were revealed in the work, considered the basis for Chen Yi's piano creativity. The results are available in Figure 1.

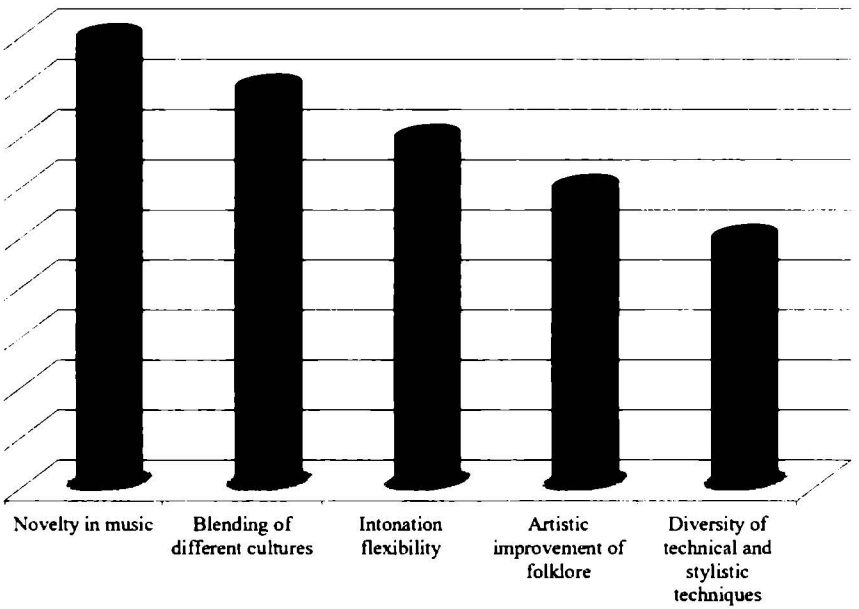

Figure 1. Features of neo-folklore motifs in piano music

Novelty in music is one of the important elements of neo-folklorism in piano music, based on the blending of modern and folk traditions. The use of new musical compositions is associated with the diversity of artistic tasks and the use of

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a new mode system typical not only for Chinese music. Moreover, harmony as a result of rhythmic intonations and timbre structure is achieved. The novelty is manifested in a change in musical culture, closely connected with the repertoire's uniqueness.

The blending of different cultures is an important feature of neo-folklorism being an outcome of the mixture of Chinese and European music traditions which helps to update music structure and corresponds to modernity. The cross-cultural approach to music development influences melodic lines in a wider range. The music range affects the changes in intonation, the emotionality of melodies and the uniqueness of the sound. This approach improves the piano playing techniques, manifested in the folklore sound change, diversity of genres, and artistic images.

Intonation flexibility is based on different stylistic changes that affect the structure of musical material and its semantic expressions. Intonation reflects a national character, language, thinking, and ethics. Intonation affects the new rhythmic patterns, timbre, and tonality. Intonation influences expressive sound, which is achieved by using melisma and changes in melodic patterns. Musical expressiveness affects the expansion of the repertoire and the sound insights, its pitch and the construction system.

The diversity of technical and stylistic techniques is a result of different musical genres used for musical performance. Genre diversity affects the new timbres, rhythmic intonations, and musical structures, based on the combination of previously analysed elements (novelty in music, the blending of different cultures, intonation flexibility, and a variety of technical and stylistic techniques). Style diversity influences the development of a new artistic style manifested in social significance. The mixture of styles reflects modern piano creativity.

The update of the figurative structure affects the artistic improvement of folklore, which is in the mode and harmonic structure and musical techniques. Artistry affects expressive sound, the development of new images, and the imitation of the folk instruments' sounds. The artistic improvement of folklore is associated with the possibility of the composer changing the intonation of the composition, and use of a new bright sound. Artistic rethinking was based on the development of modern expressive means that were not previously found in folklore music.

One of the bright piano works based on neo-folklorism is the composition *To E* by Chen Yi. The scholars compared the common features of neo-folklore motifs and their use in the piece of music. The research concluded that the key features were a novelty in music, the blending of different cultures, and intonation flexibility. This is due to the fact that a composer used a new vision of music, pivotal for the composition popularisation. The scholars calculated the Socio-Metric Rating Index and visualised the data. The results are available in Figure 2.

At the next research stage, the key features of the piece of music *To E* were analysed. The scholars compared them with *neo-folklore* motifs and analysed the

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specifics of Chinese archaic piano art. The work *To E*, based on the mixture of Chinese and European music, consists of a three-part form.

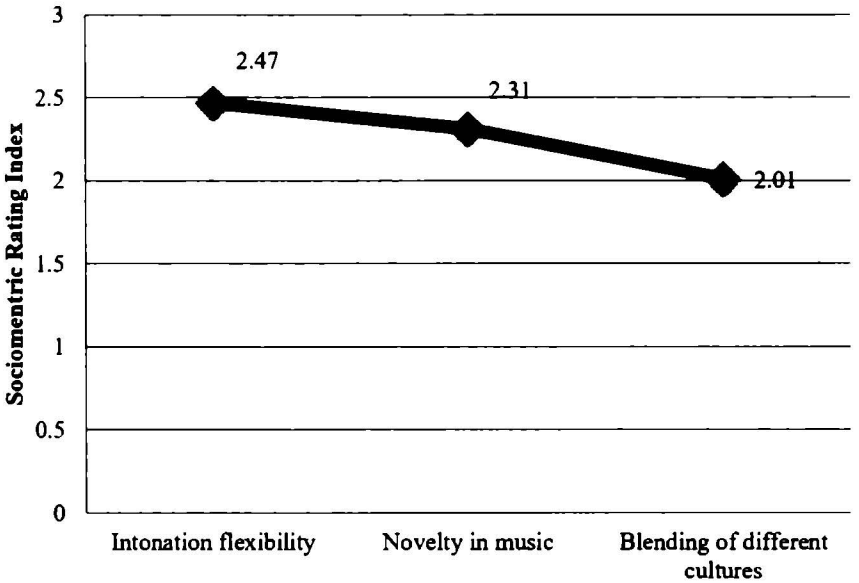

Figure 2. Key features of neo-folklorism in the piece of music *To E* by Chen Yi

The First Part (Main Theme)

Intonation is the core of the thematic character of the piano composition, based on a song and unique sound. In the main theme, intonation is the starting point of a vivid expressive sound with a variety of musical notes. The contrast of intonation affected the brightness of the performance and manifested in a combination of the Dong song (Kam) and the melody of the Beijing opera. The improvisation techniques influence the development of latitude of diverse performances and affect the musical culture. The sound harmony was achieved by the initial acceleration of the rhythmic patterns and their further slowing.

Middle Part

The middle part is based on the intonation material of the Beijing opera, which affects the thematic character and the instrumental nature of the performance. In the second part, the music exposure is evident in the *Largo-Allegro* part, the main part is *Adagio* and *Andante*, and the reprise is *Allegro*. The key features are expressed in improvisation techniques, rhythm, an expanded melodic range, as well as melisma. The unique sound of the composition reaches its full potential in the second part, introducing bright and outstanding sounds. The principle of dialogue is possible in a combination of the upper and lower registers during the playing of the piano, which influences the rhythm and the timbre of percussion instruments. This approach supports the development and implementation of one musical thought (Figure 3).

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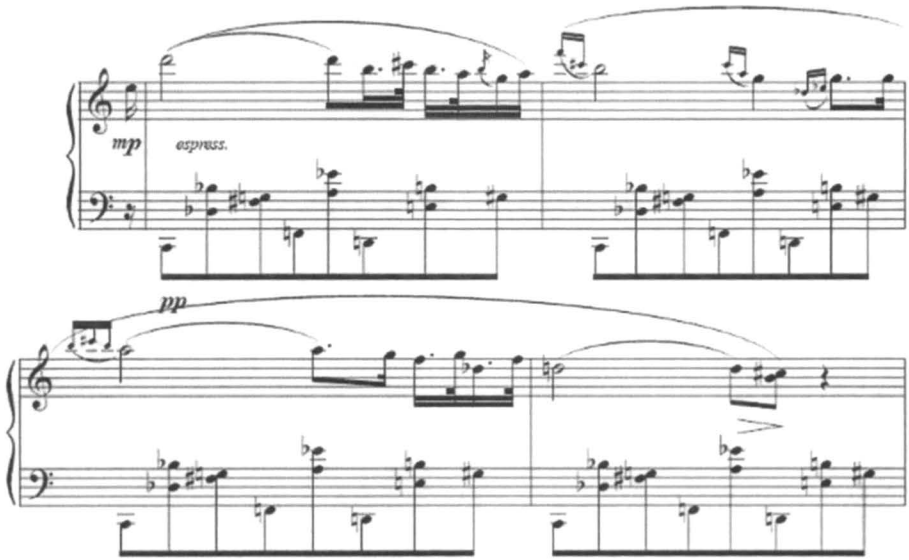

Figure 3. Fragment of the second part of the piano work To E by Chen Yi

Final Part

The final part is based on improvisation and intonation creativity, which helps to develop polyphonic sounds. The research finds that the musical interval depends on intonation. The dynamism of the sound is achieved through the archaic intonations that ascend into octave unison and form a passage. Intonation contains octave replicas in the low register and passages in the upper register. The intonation is used as a link between musical forms, and modern and vivid sound patterns typical for the European musical style. The modern performance is evident in the use of wide tonality, complex chords, and melodic movements.

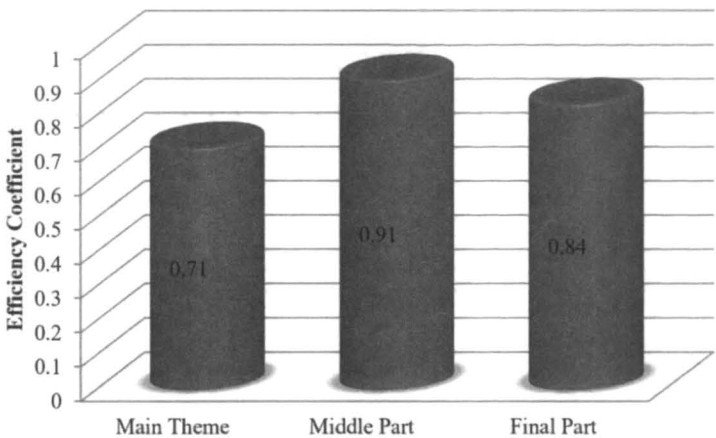

Figure 4. Similar elements of the parts of *To E* and neo-folklore motifs

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Note. Proximity coefficient: the Main Theme-the Middle Part: 0.79; the Main Theme-the Final Part: 0.90; the Middle Part-The Final Part: 0.93.

The results showed that the play *To E* had folklore motifs such as polyphony and rhythmic sound patterns. Chinese unique traditions are evident in the imitation of the sounds of gongs and drums. The free rhythm is found in the change and dynamics of the European music culture. The second part sounds more bright and reflects neo-folklore motifs, full of intonation changes. At the same time, mixed rhythms are created by seven-dimensional and five-dimensional musical groups, influencing the brightness of the melodic patterns.

DISCUSSION

The blending of Eastern and Western piano traditions has a great impact on the development of creative thinking, the core of neo-folklore motifs. The development of creative thinking shapes the musical transparency and vividness of images. This approach promotes the development of the composer's techniques, the progress of national culture and the enrichment of national culture (Schwartz *et al.* 2020). Acoustic sound has a great impact on musical expressiveness, influenced by the global understanding of Chinese piano art. The blending of piano music from different cultures affects the aesthetics of sound, tonality, and rhythmic patterns. Intonation diversity influences the uniqueness of sound and the popularisation of philosophical ideas and musical performance (Zhu, Chen, and Yang 2021). The emphasis on the stylistic features of musical compositions of piano performance increases the sound complexity. Artistic variations and changes in sound effects add emotional colouring and affect the perception of the listeners.

Compositional and expressive elements promote the mixture of European and Asian traditions. The impact of different cultures enriches music traditions (Weiß *et al.* 2019). In this research, the emphasis is on the features of neo-folklorism such as novelty in music, the blending of different national cultures, intonation flexibility, artistic improvement of folklore, and a variety of technical and stylistic techniques.

The development of traditional Chinese music and its fusion with folklore is caused by changes in musical elements (rhythm, technology and tonality), which helps to attract more listeners to musical performances. The emphasis on the imagery, intonation, and change in texture affects the quality of perception and helps to transform musical techniques (Ma 2019). The acoustic features of the musical instrument have a great impact on the quality of melodies since they influence sound and spatial heterogeneity. The sound quality is achieved by timber change. During the music performance, a musician adds emotional tension and expressiveness linked with a thought, good musical ear and movements. Improvisation leads to a change in musical space and helps to develop a naturalistic sound. The dynamism in music is perceived through sounds and feelings (Robb 2022).

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Modern music initiates the search for new timbres, a unique combination of sounds, which helps to manage emotional expressiveness. In oriental music, melodiousness is manifested in the use of pentatonic scale, characterised by unique musical modes and rhythmic patterns. The unique combination of folk music and musical traditions of other countries influences the artistic interpretation of melodies, the synthesis of different cultures, their philosophy and their melodic patterns (Sit, Mak, and Neill 2017). Neo-folklorism is a way to upgrade the creative principles of different cultures and performance techniques. Moreover, it influences the complexity of the repertoire, both for solo and joint repertoire. A variety of musical piano skills helps musicians to develop a positive atmosphere that attracts listeners (Zhukov and Rowley 2022). The research analysis of the play *To E* reveals that its second part has brighter musical images than other parts and has unique neo-folklore elements (intonation flexibility, novelty, and the blending of different cultures).

The piano performance is based on artistic elements and performing skills, which help a composer introduce amazing sounds that influence the emotions of listeners. Musical tension and expression affect the brightness of music performance and produce a rich artistic performance. The folklore elements such as a mode system and intonation influence the transformation of melodies and musical performance (Zhu 2021). The development of the musical repertoire has a direct impact on the cross-cultural relations that reflect the identity of composers, performers and theorists. Cross-cultural orientation causes a change in the repertoire, aesthetics, and expressive means. Folklore elements mirror unique traditions of folk culture, which can manifest themselves in bright and artistic piano techniques (vibrato, glissando, bell sound effects, etc.) (Everett 2021). The piano music of Chen Yi has a unique compositional and aesthetic practice framework, which manifests itself in musical and performative impulses in contemporary art.

The musical texture is developed under the influence of unemotional features that affect perception. The music has many long patterns and transitional movements that inspire different associations and experiences. The changed stylistics affects the perception and stylistic transparency (Kielian-Gilbert 2020). The piano solo of Chinese composers who received education in other countries, like Chen Yi, was full of transformations of the folk melodies and tunes. For melodious performance, rhythmic changes, imitation of timbre and pitch are used. The use of post-tonal structures leads to a violation of linear continuity and introduces a change in rhythmic processes (Roeder 2020).

An analysis of scientific literature showed that the expressiveness of piano music was achieved by the use of neo-folklore motifs. In this research, the key features of neo-folklorism were revealed and investigated using the example of *To E* by Chen Yi.

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CONCLUSIONS

The research identified the key features of neo-folklore motifs in Chinese piano music. The results show that the most significant feature of neo-folklore is a novelty, associated with a change in musical culture. The blend of different cultures is also identified since the intercultural approach is aimed at expanding the melodic line affecting the transformation of intonations.

Intonation flexibility influences greatly sound expressiveness and changes in rhythm, timbre, and tonality. The diversity of technical and stylistic techniques and the artistic improvement of folklore are also features of neo-folklorism, achieved as a result of the experimentation with new timbres, colouristic and artistic techniques.

The research results revealed that the main features of neo-folklore in the piano work of Chen Yi *To E*, which was the object of research, were intonation flexibility (2.47), a novelty in music (2.31), and the blending of different cultures (2, 01). These conclusions were based on the analysis of the composition and its relationship with Chinese and European music.

The research revealed the key features of *To E* by Chen Yi and their similarity with neo-folklore motifs. The results showed that the uniqueness of the first part (main theme) was the variety of musical records and notes. The acceleration and slowing of the tempo support the melodious performance. The main contrast is based on a combination of the Dong (Kam) song and melodies common for the Beijing opera. The middle part is characterised by a variety of thematic patterns and imitation of the percussion instruments. The final part of the piano work *To E* is characterised by many octave replicas, as a result of intonation changes of different musical forms. The results have shown that the second part of the play is more melodic, based on the key neo-folklore motifs, evident in the intonation changes throughout the part.

The research significance is in the possibility of applying the key features of the musical composition *To E* to the piano playing with a focus on neo-folklore motifs. Future research is needed to analyse several piano compositions, and identify and compare the key neo-folklore elements in each piece of music.

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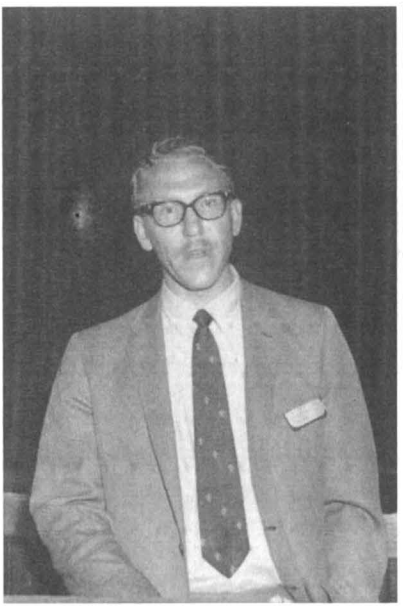

1, 2: Brian M. du Toit: Gainsville; Nai-Tung Ting: Macomb (FL 1919/5/44542, 1915/16/44519)

3, 4: Mortan Nolsøe*: Oslo, Elizar/Eleazar M. Meletinsky**: Moscow, Germina Comanici: Bucharest; Nai-Tung Ting (FL 1914/26/44558, 1919/34/44520)

* seen in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 224, 225, 1-2/2022: 195 (cf. note 2, p. 252). ** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2018: 335-344.

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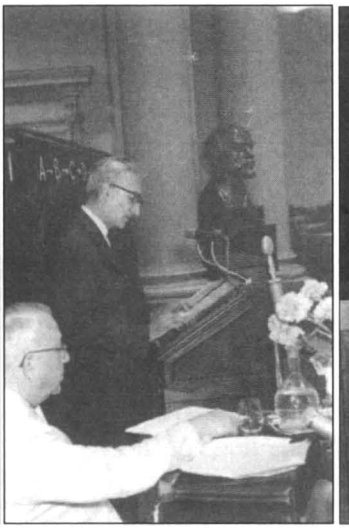
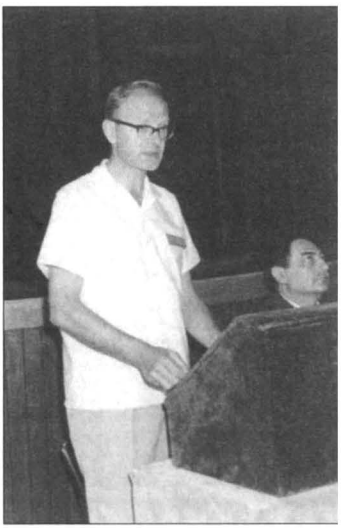
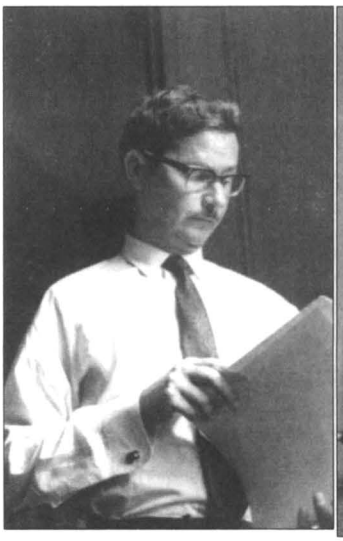



5: Francis Lee Utley: Columbus/USA, Paul V. Vehvilainen*: Portland (FL 1917/25/44496)**
6: Francis Lee Utley, Corneliu Bărbulescu***: Bucharest (FL 1917/36/44507)
7: Mortan Nolsøe, Elizar M. Meletinsky (FL 1914/25/44557)



8: Paul V. Vehvilainen (FL 1917/20/44495)
9: Corneliu Bărbulescu (FL 1917/35/44508)
10. E.M. Meletinsky; in the background: Mortan Nolsøe (1913/36/44415)

* paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 251-254. ** in the background: Nancy Schmitz, with photo and text in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 221, 226-234. *** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 286-294, portrait also visible in the presidium of the Congress Opening: REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 195.

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11 & 12: Monica Brătulescu: Bucharest; Stanca Fotino*, Ion C. Chițimia**: Bucharest, Monica Brătulescu (FL 1917/24/44497; 1917/22/44498)

* photos and text in REF/JEF 1-2/2022: 197, 269-277.
** also visible in the presidium of the Congress Opening: REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 195, 1-2/2021: 223; next photo of him, first in the background: Sen Gupta Sankar: Calcutta (as in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 243, 300 and 1-2/2021: 285).

13: Radu Niculescu: Bucharest
(FL 1918/6/44450)

14: Ion C. Chițimia
(FL 1913/34/44413)

15, 16: E.M. Meletinsky, Radu Niculescu; Bengt Holbek: Copenhagen, Ghizela Sulițeanu***: Bucharest (FL 1918/13/44461; 1919/29/44561)

*** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 301-326.

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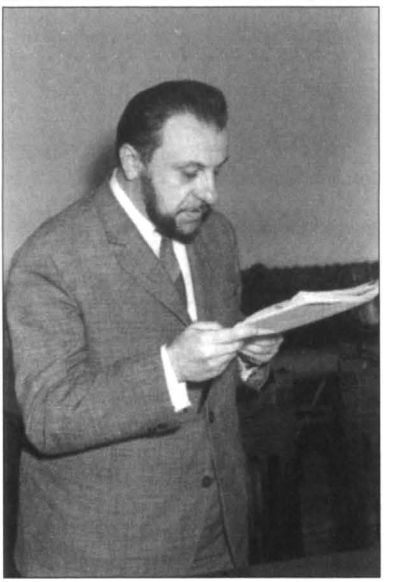
17: ?, Reimund Kvideland, Robert Wildhaber*: Basel (FL 1917/7/44489)

18: P.V. Vehvilainen, Bengt Holbek, Reimund Kvideland: Bergen (1918/8/44451)**

19: ?, ?, Nai-Tung Ting, ?, Val Cordun: Bucharest, Faragó József: Cluj, Helga Stein*** (FL 1915/15/44468)



20: Lauri (Olavi) Honko***†: Helsinki (FL 1915/9/44513)

21: ? (FL 1915/20/44526)

* visible in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 225, 285. ** M. Nolsøe, B. Holbek, R. Kvideland, Lauri Honko and several other Scandinavians are also present or just visible in photos of REF/JEF 1-2/ 2021: 224, 225, 285, 1-2/2022: 195, 277. *** also seen in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2021: 223, 224, 1-2/2022: 219. ***† text and photo in REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 224-232 (+ supra).

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AFRICAN FOLK-NARRATIVE RESEARCH AND ANTHROPOLOGY*

by

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The folk-narrative by definition covers a wide range of oral traditions, factual and fictitious, modern and traditional, belonging to literate peoples as well as those largely lacking a literate form of expression. It is not our concern whether folk-narratives are historically based in some event or whether they are credible, though a great many have value for the student of history. Our interest in studying folk-narratives flows from the fact that they represent a form of art, and from the fact that they arise directly from the cultural bases of the community in which they are found. It is to these two aspects that I propose to turn in this brief discussion while concluding with a reference to the Zulu praise as a narrative form.

It is not my task as an anthropologist to attempt a distinction between the various forms or *genres* which might classify as narrative art. The structural and functional value of such forms of oral literature as legend, myths, tales, or history have frequently been discussed. The danger involved in such a stylistic definition is that we may project our own European literary or written linguistic prototype onto the data

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* Paper presented at the Fifth Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research , in Bucharest, Romania, August 26-31, 1969.

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we are analyzing while ignoring the functional and structural variation which is inevitably part of an oral tradition which lacks written form - or has perhaps not yet adapted to written form. The Aarne-Thompson index of Indo-Germanic folklore for instance had to be adapted quite extensively in South Africa to allow for coverage of Malay, Hottentot, Bushman, and Bantu narrative forms (Coetzee et al 1967).

The folk-narrative, adapted through generations to a literary form, has lost much that is essentially a part of the oral presentation. Websters International Dictionary (1910) explains the narrative as the "act, art, or practice of narrating". When people lack a form of writing the style of their narratives is inevitably adapted to oral presentation accompanied by a variety of acts which give meaning to words, or may even be a substitute for words. The folk-narrative in these cases is hardly distinguishable from a dramatic presentation and its rendering in written form falls short of achieving its goal of representing oral traditions. This in fact may be partial reason for earlier accounts of communities which lack writing as having only animal stories of the simplest kind. The observer in most cases was either missing the art style, or representing a lively artistic presentation in flat recorded form. But there is more to this problem. Research workers entering a field such as Africa were frequently well versed in the methodology applicable to literate cultures where social context, idiom, world view, and symbolism were either known or are of less significance than in these "new" fields of study. The anthropologist Turner has shown very clearly the tremendous importance of symbolism in one African culture[2], and the linguist and folklorist needs to cooperate more closely with social scientists to fathom the cultural setting and milieu of such modern literary artists as Leopold Senghor, Chinue Achebe, Vilakazi, and others.

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If the folk-narrative is an act which is dramatically presented to an audience, which frequently is part of the act, the whole social context must be understood. We are dealing in all cases with an actor performing in space, time, and social matrix. He belongs to a particular sex and age group or even social group, and all of these aspects are going to influence his narration and his narrative. While this point touches on the social position of the narrator and the way or form in which he may speak or act, there are other factors involved. Cultural themes and values, or temporary taboos and social expectations may influence the structure, content, or rendition of the narrative. Anthropologists are interested less in form and structure than in function and meaning.

Websters, referred to above, explains a narrative as "relating to the recital of an event", while the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (1966) says it is to "give an account of history" Both these explanations suggest a historical basis for the folk-narrative. But even if we limit the historical value we must recognize it as a cultural product. The narrator is only able to express and incorporate in his narrative things he knows and is ~~familiar~~ aware of. Through a study of the folk-narratives of a community we are then in a position to glean some understanding of the beliefs and superstitions, the world-view and values, the social structural principles, and even believed or actual characteristics of people, animals, and supernatural phenomena. A narrative frequently deals with actual interpersonal relations in the social field. In such cases we may very well find that a polygynous society involves their legendary or heroic figures, supernatural beings, and animal actors in relations of polygyny, co-wife jealousy, or competition between half-brothers. The

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religious form of a community, be it animistic, polytheistic, or ancestral cult is sure to be expressed in some narrative and will thus emphasize accepted premises and cultural values related to world-view. Vansina has pointed at the ways in which oral traditions can be used with profit for a study of history. It is suggested here that these traditions may be of the same value to social scientists. But this value works in the opposite direction as well. Knowing a people and being familiar with their cultural values, taboos, and the like allow the social scientist to aid the folklorist both in terms of what to look for and what to expect, but also in explaining why expectations are frequently not met due to the factors outlined above.

With this cultural setting in mind I would like to discuss some aspects of a form of oral literature which in its true form is restricted to the South-Eastern Bantu speaking peoples, namely the praise poem. This izibongo, as it is known in Zulu, or lithoko in Sotho, contains all the elements generally found in the folk-narrative[3]. Yet it is a highly stylized poetic form rendered by the speaker in a chant rather than speaking voice, accompanied by rhythmic body movements or even wild jumps during which stabbing movements are made with a spear, and on the whole words and acts compliment each other. The voice and pitch of the speaker alone has been the subject of a detailed study (Rycroft 1960) and the metaphor and symbolism of this art form is discussed by my friend Dr. Kunene at this congress (Kunene 1969). Lestrade describes it as "a type of composition intermediate between the pure, mainly narrative, epic, and the pure, mainly apostrophic, ode, being a combination of exclamatory narration and laudatory apostrophizing" (1946:295). While the izibongo is historically based and event interpretive, it is not a truely historical account, since being a eulogy it

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contains "a tendency to maximize praise and minimize criticism" (Cope 1968:31). Yet this very fact is indicative of the values current in that particular culture since the maximization of praise can serve as an index of the behavior which is accepted or prized and those character traits which are acceptable and admired. As Krige has pointed out: "Praises are an important instrument in the educational system of the South Bantu, especially among the Zulu where ukugiya[4]... has become institutionalized. Zulu praises are like labels or military decorations which may be displayed on various public occasions. They indicate the social esteem in which a person is held, his personality and character. Not only do they act as an incentive to and reward for socially approved actions but their recital is a constant reminder to all present what qualities and conduct are considered praiseworthy" (1953:33).

The Bantu child is introduced to this cultural form when as a child he is praised by his parents, it becomes engrained when as a young fellow his age mates sing his praises, and by the time he is an adult he will rise to sing his own praises - urged on by the audience. What would pass as boasting in many cultures is here an accepted and expected form of behavior. We would no more frown on this than on a European mayoral candidate singing of his accomplishments before an election. In both cases we are dealing with an actual historical account of occurences, but whereas the politician recounts chronologically events and his achievements (often accompanied by maximization), "the poet usually describes the significance and meaning of events rather than describes the events themselves" (Beuchat 1961). The point then is that the researcher here must recognize differences in values as well as the interpretation which is given to events. He must also familiarize himself with the symbolism employed by

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the people he is studying. When Shaka is eulogized as "a pile of rocks", it should be recognized that this represents protection and strength. Additionally the abundance of idioms and proverbs require that the folklorist have a knowledge of the culture and the history of those people he is studying. Praises are primarily a way of eulogizing men of standing and few chiefs, kings, or men of standing lacked an imbongi or praiser.[5] While the eulogies should not be taken as true historical documentation, they can serve in an important way as historical markers and will aid in interpreting historical events[6].

Just recently in my research in South Africa I came accross a praise poem which has never been published. It had been composed for an early White farmer who was instrumental in bettering the social and economic conditions of the Zulu[7]. This man, Marshall Campbell, continued an early sugar plantation of his father and was so respected by the Qadi clan that he was formally incorporated as a member and referred to as "a White Qadi". In this particular eulogy one line reads as follows: Imvuthelweni ngiyo phuza umdloti (translated as: From Mvuthelweni I will drink at the Mdloti). Here imvuthelwane means a small he-goat that is growing up and starting to but others and the explanatory note attached by the composer of this izibongo simply links this to a certain Harrison. Going to historical sources we find that H.P. Harrison had established a sugar plantation in competition with Campbell and had in fact planted sugar cane in a very extensive area as far north as the Mdloti river. Shortly before the events which gave rise to this eulogy being composed, the "he-goat", who dared compete with Campbell had been forced to capitulate and sell his sugar to the Campbell owned Natal Estates Ltd. I mention this single example because of the time limit and also because it clearly shows

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symbolism, event interpretation, and especially the historical value of such a Zulu eulogy.

If the narrative, and related forms of oral literature, are culturally based and grow from the cultural experiences of a community, it is also logical that cultural changes must be represented and find expression in the folk-narrative. To return to the izibongo, Nyembezi has pointed out that the eulogies refer basically to battles and personal achievement in warfare, but as warfare is a thing of the past, new values will find expression in this literary form. We have already referred to the "economic battle" above, but there are also "heroes distinguishing themselves in the 'battle of brains' who have ascended to great heights" (Nyembezi 1948: 174). Here then is a folk-narrative form which may be adapted to new situations and will then be employed to recognise personal achievements in politics, academics, and new forms of personal valor.[8]

NOTES.

1. Final notification of the Congress only reached me in the field where I was carrying out a research project. Lack of time and source material have therefor influenced the final form of this paper.
2. Victor Turner has completed some of the most thorough and analytical studies, based on his material from the Ndembu, which exist today in anthropology.
3. A wealth of Zulu praise-poems have been recorded and published through the years. Some of the earliest appear in Bryant (1929) and Samuelson (1929), while fuller versions have been published in five little books written in Zulu by Stuart (between 1924 - 1936), Grant (1929), Nyembezi (1958), and Cope (1968). Cook (1931) has recorded Swazi izibongo, while Mangoaela (1939) treats the same topic for the Sotho.

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4. This term refers to the solo dance performance by a young man eg. at a wedding, when he may rise and perform an exhibition of a fight with spear in hand. He is inveriably encouraged by his age mates who shout his praises reflecting his actions, events associated with him, and personality characteristics he exhibits. This evaluation is in most cases a social sanction but may also be a pointer at less acceptable characteristics.
5. During this field research period I attended the installation of Mntwana Israel Bekezulu as Paramount Chief of the Zulu. At the conclusion of the ceremony the imbongi appeared and, grabbing the microphone from the hand of the master of ceremonies, he recited the eulogies of the new Paramount Chief.
6. The importance and elaboration of events has also been carried over into more modern Zulu literature. "I think it is true to say" suggests Professor Nyembezi, "that the Zulu writer has not been very successful in the creation of characters. Quite often characters are mere pegs on which the events hang. They are lifeless" (1961: 9).
7. This is quite common in southern Africa and an izibongo was composed for numerous great men, including Shaka, General J.C. Smuts, and Mahatma Ghandi.
8. In this lecture, reviewing Zulu literature, Nyembezi regretfully states that "in the main, Zulu poets do not seem interested in developing the style of the Izibongo. They like to use the European form. And yet I think that a blending of the style of the Izibongo with the European forms might produce some interesting new forms" (1961: 9)

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Ting-Nai Tung (DST)

THE CANNIBAL GRANDMA:
A STUDY OF THE CHINESE VERSIONS OF A SUBTYPE OF AT 333

This ~~present study of~~ talk is a summary of a much longer paper on one of the most popular folktales for Chinese children. It is based on seventy-nine oral versions from most parts of china proper and on four literary versions, two of which were recorded in the seventeenth century. From a careful analysis of their principal traits, a prototype or the basic story of the tale type has been established as follows:

> Once upon a time, there was a mother with two small children. When she was away from home, a weretiger came to knock on the door, claiming to be the children's grandmother. It gained entrance without much ~~ado~~ difficulty. That night, when it was in the same bed with the children, it ate the younger child. The older child heard the sound of chewing, biting, etc. and, upon asking what the fake grandma was doing, was told that it was eating snacks and given a finger, a toe, etc., of her sibling's. The child now became frightened and asked for permission to go to the out-house. The monster consented, but probably only after it had tied a string to the child's body, holding the other end in its own paw. The child removed this string and put it around another object. At any rate, the survivor escaped to a high place and, when the monster discovered her flight and ran after her, baffled its efforts and finally ~~got rid of it.~~ caused its death.

This prototype agrees completely with five versions, and approximates very closely (that is, with only one unimportant difference) twelve other versions. It originated along the lower reaches of the Yangtze River and Central China from which it has spread as far north as the Sino-Soviet border, as far west as Sikang, and as far south as the Sino-Vietnamese border. It is evidently a Han, or Chinese, tale. It has been adopted by a number of racial minorities in Southwest China, but has never been discovered yet in such peripheral areas as Sinkiang, Tibet or Mongolia.

Spreading over such extensive areas, this tale type has apparently undergone a number of local developments, the most important of which is the North China Redaction. In North China, the number of children is increased to three or more; the monster is usually a wolf and the part it assumes is that of the mother. The children always subject it to hard questions,

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especially about its dress and decorations, and black marks on its face. This redaction has also a long and exciting ending, usually describing the monster as being tied to a rope and the children lifting it up and banging it against the earth time and again. Within this redaction area, another local development has taken place in Inner Mongolia: the story ends on a more fanciful note; with a god or a pigeon dropping down two ropes, one of which saving the children and another killing the monster. South of the Yangtze River, while most of the versions stick quite close to the Basic Type, many of them have also developed different kinds of endings which set them off as separate groups. The numerically largest group is the one that does not have a heroic ending: the escaping child either appeals to adults for help to destroy the monster, or the monster cannot find her and thus gives up the chase. This Low-Key Group centers around the province of Chekiang. Another group allows the surviving child to kill the monster in a rather quaint manner: She escapes to a loft or the second floor, drops down liquid to extinguish the monster's torch when it wants to follow her, and then scares the monster by simulating the sound of thundering. So the monster hides itself in a cabinet or a pot, and the child destroys it with boiling water or fire. This group centers around the province of Hunan. The most important group, however, consists of only three versions; two from Southern Anhui and one along the coast of Kwangtung populated by migrants from North and Central China some centuries ago. All three versions begin in the same way: Two children were sent by their mother with some food to their grandmother. On their way, they met a weretiger which found out from them where they were going, claimed to be their grandmother, and took them to what it said was its new or temporary residence. The rest is like the prototype. I believe that this group has preserved older features than those in the Basic Type,

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Many ancient Chinese tales of the weretiger resemble European stories of the werewolf quite closely. Because of the absence of Christian influence, however, the devil played no part in the creation of the weretiger, which was sometimes an instrument of a god, sometimes the result of a long illness, and sometimes an allegorical figure.

for some of its peculiar features can be found now only in peripheral versions. One of the three versions was recorded in the late seventeenth century, and this group will henceforth be referred to as the Older Features Group. The other groups or subdivisions are either combined with other types at the end, or recorded among the racial minorities in Southwest China, who usually have a tendency to add quaint, marvellous details.

So far for geographic distribution. For historical development, I have surveyed hundreds of ancient Chinese tales and legends about the weretiger and other types of demons. ~~It appears that~~ The roots of this tale type, however, evidently lay in legends wherein an old person, especially an old woman, turned into a tiger. In spite of the traditional respect for age, ironically, very old people in chinese folklore were sometimes represented as turning into demons. From such weretiger tales, modern oral versions have borrowed many of their important motifs. Only the Chinese weretiger usually ran off to the wild as soon as it assumed tiger form, and rarely ate people in a house. Even closer analogues to this tale type are therefore tales wherein the weretiger took on ogress or rakshasa features as the werewolf sometimes did in Western folklore. Tales of this kind concerned at first only adults. When a child became the hero, heard his ~~weretiger~~ who was turning into a weretiger grandma eating something ~~every~~ at night, asked ~~the same question~~ what she was eating and was given the ~~same answer~~ lie as in many modern oral versions, and then reported to adults who discovered human bones under the old woman's mat and had her confined, we ~~have~~ had, I believe, ~~perhaps~~ the earliest version of our tale type. This version ~~was recorded~~ perhaps in the mid- ~~lyric~~ seventeenth-century writer but, judging from its ancient analogues, may be really much older in date. The second stage in the evolution of our tale type ~~may be~~ was perhaps the result of the ancient belief that weretigers never ate their own friends or relatives when in human form. So, as the child ~~gradually~~ became the center of attention and the intended victim, the weretiger ~~became~~ turned into a pretended, not real grandmother that met the child on the road. Then it lured the child to its den and tried to murder the child either with or without success. ~~Although~~ These

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elements form the beginnings of four oral versions, ~~these versions~~ which unfortunately ~~are~~ all contain strange ~~redactions containing~~ elements completely alien to the prototype later in the narrative. The third stage is represented by the Older Features Group, wherein the monster met two children on the way to their grandmother's house, and lured them to its den. The rest of it agrees closely with the basic story. This plot may have existed by the thirteenth century, but appears to have remained confined to certain localities until the time of the Manchu conquest, when large scale migrations of people from Southern Anhui to the big cities by the East China coast took place. The Basic Tupe (the fourth stage) differs from the Older Features Group in the beginning as well as the ending. The monster now ate the mother first, and then came to knock at the door. This change, in my opinion, was due to the influence of AT 123, three variants of which have been recorded in East China. Towards the end, the child was supposed to destroy or outwit the monster all by herself. Somehow, as soon as the Basic Type became established, it spread like wild fire. The various local developments represent the fifth stage. The increase in the number of children and the pretension of the monster to be their mother helped produce the North China Redaction. The various other devices borrowed from other tales to explain how a single little girl could eliminate or discourage a ferocious monster led to the developments south of the Yangtze. Due to its extreme popularity and the absence of a dominant literary influence, this tale type has been in a state of growth and flux in China perhaps until very recently.

Although in the second Revision of the Type Index, this tale is ~~put~~ placed under AT 123, it appears to me to be a subtype of AT 333. The characters are all human, mostly girls; even the monster, though identified as an animal, ~~transformed itself into~~ always assumed human shape in the tale. The opening parts are parallel to those of AT 333. The monster usually pretends to

of the tale representing the earliest stage ~~of~~ in the development

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be their grandma and it eats a child. Besides, the climax of the tale lies in the child's horrible discoveries in bed, just as in AT 333. The resemblance to AT 123 in the Basic Type seems to ~~ma~~ to be limited only to the monster's coming to the children's house and knocking on the door. In North China, the children do ask questions and the monster does use wiles to deceive them. But the questions and wiles are mostly different from the familiar ones ~~in~~ one usually finds in European versions. I therefore would rather treat this tale type as a ~~AT 123~~ subtype of AT 333, as Miss Ikeda has done with the Japanese versions.

As many experts have pointed out, this tale type exists also in Japan and Korea. The Japanese-Korean tradition comes much closer to the North China Redaction than the South China groups. The monster is ~~usually~~ usually an ogress in Japan, though it is a tiger in Korea. It also eats, and then pretends to be, the mother; and the children, usually three in number, also asks questions before opening the door. Towards the end, the surviving children also climb a tree and fool the monster into greasing the tree trunk. The average Japanese and Korean versions resemble especially the Chinese versions recorded in Inner Mongolia which, besides other details, also has the thrilling ending of the two ropes dropped from heaven: one good or metallic, by which the children leave the scene of danger; the other rotten or made of grass, which breaks when the monster hangs on to it and thus causes its death. The Inner Mongolian versions, however, do not carry the quaint sequel of the children's turning into heavenly bodies as in many Korean and Japanese versions. ~~do.~~ Japanese and Korean ~~relation~~ contacts with Chinese folklore, it appears, ~~is~~ are not just limited to that of North China. One of the questions which the children ask the monster, for instance, is about its hairy arm--a question found only in Southwest China. Besides, as Miss Ikeda has pointed out, there is at Iwaki a tale reminiscent of Western versions of AT 333. This tale comes actually very close to, and reads very much like, an elliptical and corrupted acount of the ~~second seventeenth century~~ Chinese version recorded in the late seventeenth century.

I know very little about Japanese folklore. Thanks to the gracious aid of Miss Ikeda and the variants listed by her. Ikeda, however, I think that

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In France, the Tyrol and Italy, there have also been recorded some versions of AT 333 in which the little girl, instead of being eaten by the wolf, uses the same excuse to escape as she does in the Far East, and is tied also to a rope from which she frees herself. She, too, flees or climbs a tree and the monster either cannot catch up with her, drowns, or is killed by her father the next day. M. Delarue, who summed up and discussed these versions in an admirable paper, stressed the striking resemblances between these particular versions and the Far East ones, and suggested that such resemblances could not have been coincidental. I feel that ~~they~~ these European versions are especially close to these Chinese versions which perhaps represent the earlier stages in the development, of the type in china, especially the so-called Older Features Group. Whether there is genetic relations between the European ~~group~~ and the Chinese ~~group~~, versions, I cannot tell. There are important differences as well as very close similarities in plot. If the European group in question represents very ancient readings, they may have descended from a common primitive tale, once known all over Eurasia ~~current~~ but now ~~extinct, as the Chinese group. More likely, however, one of them~~ relegated to the two extremes. Another possibility is that one such European version may have got to China during the sixteenth century with the Jesuit priests and helped in the development of our tale type from the first to the second or third stage. Since children's tales usually end happily, however, and the ingenious flight and escape episode of these particular European versions were perhaps unknown to Perrault and Grimm, as M. Delarue has pointed out there may be a third possibility. These versions may have borrowed just the ending from China, brought back to Europe by somebody who had visited the coast of Kwangtung province, probably during the last century, where he had heard a version of the Older Features Group that reminded him of his familiar Little Red Riding Hood but contained an exciting, happy ending. ~~I have no solution to this problem posed by these curious and striking resemblances.~~ In short, since it is so difficult to date folktales I am but proposing a few alternatives and putting the problem into sharper focus for my learned colleagues.

No clear analogue to this tale, however, has been found in the wide expanse between East Asia and West Europe.

He revised form ~~His innovation~~, became perhaps very limited in circulation because of the strong literary tradition already established by Perrault and the Grimm brothers.

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Finally, this paper ends with some observations on the peculiar problems a researcher must face in applying the geographic-historic method to the study of chinese folktales which I have no time to discuss here. It concludes by reaffirming the fact pointed out by so many anthropologists: a tale thrives best when it ~~Finally, I wish to add that this study, though mainly geographic and historic in approach, proves also that some folktales thrive because they~~ serves a vital functions in society. Though popular in other Far Eastern countries too, this tale type was known to almost every child in China. The last few centuries during which the tale spread so fast were the most tragic centuries for china. Evidently, there was a greater need there to teach children to watch the door, and to obey the oldest sister when mother was away (a feature emphasized in many Chinese versions). ~~It taught~~ Besides stressing these ideas, this tale also taught chinese children many other things, ~~of course,~~ such as not to eat snacks in bed, especially not in the dark, ~~and~~ not to ~~keep~~ be too naive and not to panic. ~~presence of mind and courage when faced with danger.~~ The continuous series of invasions, uprisings, civil wars and all sorts of disorder that plagued China ~~in the last few centuries~~ until the middle of this century were apparently among the essential reasons for the extreme popularity of this Warnmärchen.

26 & 27: George Macovescu: Bucharest, Congress Opening formal speech: Romanian Academy, o8/26/1969 (FL 1913/13/44386, 1913/15/44388)

In the presidium, Alexandru I. Amzulescu, Corneliu Bărbulescu, Karel C. Peeters, Vasilij Grigorevič Bazanov, Mihai Pop, Kurt Ranke, Miron Nicolescu, Stith Thompson (covered by the speaker or, respectively, flowers), Lawrence Krader, Ion C. Chițimia. Same lineup can be better seen in the two photos of REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 195.

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THE MEDIEVAL FOLK JEST, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO

There has been long debate as to whether Boccaccio's Decameron was known to Chaucer when he wrote his Canterbury Tales; the orthodox view is that the similarity of Chaucer's tales of the Reeve, Clerk, Merchant, Franklin and Shipman and the Prologues of Pardoner and Summoner and more remote resemblances to those of Pardoner, Man of Law, and Nun's Priest, are coincidence rather than borrowing. The Clerk's Tale certainly owes more to Petrarch's Latin translation of Boccaccio's tenth novel of the tenth day than it does to Boccaccio; it is essentially a translation of Petrarch with the aid of an anonymous French translation of the Latin. All of these are folktales, no doubt, in one form or another, and where there is no direct source for Chaucer it has been customary to insist that both fourteenth-century writers dipped into the common oral tradition. Yet some of the arguments have been a bit forced: Chaucer has been said to have had little chance to obtain a copy of the Decameron, since Boccaccio in 1360's had renounced his great work of about 1350, and there were few fourteenth century MSS of that work. The whole question needs to be reopened, as I said in my Athens paper, most especially because of the new evidence of ample copying of the Decameron in the fourteenth-century, including the Hamilton MS, copied by Boccaccio's own hand in the 1370's, some time after he had "rejected" the work. Moreover, the concentration and strategic use of some of these tales in both Chaucer and Boccaccio is another link deserving of more exploration.

But for our purposes today the interesting point is that of the ~~seven~~ 5 closely similar tales in the two works ~~three~~ 3 are jests, international jests of a kind classified by Aarne and Thompson: ~~Rowley~~ 1363 the Tale of the Cradle, 1423 The Enchanted Pear Tree, ~~1620 The King's New Clothes, and 1736 The Dream: All Parsons in Hell~~, and 1420 The Lover's Gift Regained. ~~Another jest is purely literary (as The Lover's Gift Regained is, despite its classification); this is~~

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These correspond to Chaucer's Reeve's Tale, Merchant's Tale, and Shipman's Tale, to Decameron nine-six, seven-nine, eight-one and two. This suggests that we might do well to study the whole complex of tales in the two works and see how much folk and literary jest each contains. Nobody who knows the works would be unaware that the two authors are notable humorists. What is worthy of analysis is how much jest there is in each, and the nature of that jesting. Our approach is in the main statistical, but it will show some striking contrasts between the two authors.

What we need first are some definitions. Four at least are essential: international tale type, folk jest, literary jest, anecdote, and exemplum. Our definitions may be in part formal and in part traditional. The Tale Type is almost wholly traditional: formally it consists of a stable narrative with motifs structured in a certain manner which allows incidental variation but basic consistency. But to be international it must have crossed some borders; those rare tales which have been suggested which do not cross borders are more than doubtful; the traditional element overweighs the formal. The folk jest must likewise be disseminated in more than a local setting; some of the best of them have travelled as far over Eurasia and the world as Cinderella or Dragon-Slayer. Thompson admittedly would not have recorded all such jests; constant addition, as in Rotunda's Motif-Index of the Italian Novella, is to be anticipated. Formally I have suggested that the folk jest is a jest which depends more on situation than on verbal wit or punch-line, as contrasted to the urban or literary jest, which makes much use of such devices. Chaucer's Summoner's Tale, which has no life in folk tradition, is a literary jest of the division of a fart among mendicant friars; there is an awkward punch-line tacked on the end which testifies to its literariness. But the Brave Little Tailor, though it uses the verbal device of "seven at a stroke", uses it throughout and not as a shocking end. The folk-jest then, most simply, lacks the punch-line except in unusual or adapted cases.

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The literary jest has the punch-line, but its oral life is generally urban and depends on literate tellers whose memories need the punch-line for reconstruction. An exemplum may creep into oral tradition, but it has its major life in exemplum collections, and when it enters a jesting milieu like that provided by Chaucer or Boccaccio, its origin can usually be attested by parallels in other collections like those of Jacques de Vitry or John Bromyard, just as the folk jest is and the international tale type and märchen are attested by oral parallels. Formally, however, an exemplum has a didactic point or moral, or it is imbedded in a collection in such a way that the moral is implicit. Finally, we have the anecdote, which I define as a true or fictively true story attached to a named figure, usually historical. The tradition is in the legendary aura which surrounds that figure, approaching on the hero tale or the sage or local legend. Perhaps there may be further dissemination: I know a tale about the Pope which is assigned severally to Charles De Gaulle, Konrad Adenauer, and Claire Boothe Luce, or a story about man's identification of himself with God which is assigned to both Lyndon Johnson and to the Bear, a football coach with a perennially winning team from Alabama. Formally and more narrowly the anecdote is a brief tale, likewise assigned to such a noted figure, revolving almost wholly around the punch-line and verbal wit. Hence it is allied to the literary or urban jest, and it is likely that such stories do demand a broad and urban and metropolitan scene in the main.

TEnn FQ
ca July 69

With these four categories, then, Tale Type and Märchen, Folk and Literary Jest, Exemplum, and Anecdote, we can say something about Chaucer and Boccaccio's practices. In his 28 tales Chaucer has fifteen tale types, just over one-half -- besides the Jests we have detailed there are Märchen like the Clerk's Tale (887 and 425), Man of Law's Tale (706 Maiden Without Hands, 707 Three Golden Sons, 712 Crescentia), Nun's Priest's Tale (various animal escapes 61, 122, 227), Squire's

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Tale (314 Youth Transformed to Horse and 566 Fortunatus), Knight's Tale (Bride Won in Tournament, 502, 506, 508), Pardoner's Tale (763 Treasure Finders Murder One Another), Franklin's Tale (976 Which Was the Noblest Act), and a Demon Tale, 1186 With His Whole Heart or The Devil and the Advocate, in the Friar's Tale. Besides the other jests found in Boccaccio are Miller's Tale (The Flood 1361), Manciple's Tale (1422 Parrot Unable to Tell of Wife's Infidelity, cp. 243, 1380), and Summoner's Prologue (1738 All Parsons in Hell, cp 1860 Lawyers in Hell). Over one-half, as I have said. In all 101 of Boccaccio's Decameron we find only 21 tales involving international types (32), which includes such Types as 938 Placidas, 888 Faithful Wife, 882 Wager on Wife's Chastity, 992 Eaten Heart (used twice), 1535 Rich and Poor Peasant, Balys 2424 Goose without Leg, 1358 Lover in Chest, 1377 Inclusa, 1410 Four Men's Mistress, 1417 The Cut Off Nose, 1406 and 1313 Lover's Tooth Pulled and Man Thinks Self Dead, 1730 Wright's Chaste Wife, 1130** Choice of Caskets and 621 Louse Skin, 855 Substitute Bridegroom, 301, 400, 665 with timely arrival of husband, Three Stolen Princesses, and Man on Quest for Lost Wife and 665 Man Who Flies Like a Bird. Often one tale is a composite, as many oral tales are today, but the folk connections of Boccaccio's tales, 21 of them, go without saying. Clearly Chaucer, however, has deeper folk roots, since one half of his tales are international and only one fifth of Boccaccio's.

Of the tales with international roots Boccaccio has about 21, but of these 14 are jests. The fairy-tale type of Märchen is rare in Boccaccio, since his thrust is anti-mystery. This causes an interesting paradox in Boccaccio, who when he seeks far-off climes must contend with the test of realism. Boccaccio has two tales placed in an English setting, the third and eight tales of the Second Day. In the first of these Pampinea tells of three young men who waste their money foolishly and fall into poverty. As their nephew is returning home in despair, he meets a young abbot, who turns out to be the daughter of the King of England in disguise; she marries him, and he restores his

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"possible" in the Aristotelean sense and uncle's fortunes. Though the story is without supernatural notes, it is full of the wildest improbabilities, including a bedroom scene with revelation of the disguise, deceptive use of messages to the Pope, a private betrothal, and general good will all round. Surely it is to Boccaccio only the daughters of Kings of England who would have so much freedom as to wander about in the guise of an abbot and choose her own husband. This is not an international tale, but it involves romance motifs like and Märchen L161 Lowly Hero Marries Princess, K1837 Disguise of Woman in Men's Clothes, and N227 Impoverished Man Given High Post by Princess in Disguise (the last primarily represented by this tale, which may be Boccaccio's invention, according to Lee, and is found only in Italian and French derivatives.) The aura of the tale is that of Renaissance drama, where mystery vanishes but social and psychological reality vanishes likewise. Similarly we have the eighth tale of the Second day, told by Elisa. Here The Count of Antwerp is falsely accused, exiled and leaves his two children in different parts of England. He returns in disguise, finds them well, joins the King of France's army as a groom, his innocence is proved, and he is restored to his rank. Here again we have no international Märchen and no otherworldly mystery, but instead the ubiquitous cliché-like motif of Potiphar's Wife K2111 and the Revelation of Love through Quickening Pulse J1142.2, an exemplum motif and one which is attested medically through Galen and Hippocrates. Once more we have the quick romance rise of true nobility to high place, and many unlikely adventures for the children in far-off-England, Ultima Thule.

By contrast Chaucer's Italian tales have at times a more successful air of reality. This is perhaps not surprising, since Chaucer could have found Italian models for the tales. One of them, indeed, is a Saint's legend, The Second Nun's Tale, and is the kind of religious tale The Decameron avoids, except in parody. Except for the rather remarkable dialogue, we need seek for no reality per se, though the following odd touch perhaps suggests an unusual realism for a saint's legend:

He got them, in short, from the real source.

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Roman
She is burned in a bath with lambent flames:

The longe night, and eek a day also,
For al the fyr, and eek the bathes heete,
She sat al coold, and feelede no wo.
It made hire nat a dr dope for to sweete."

But there she died under her tormentor's hand. The other two
juxtaposed
Italian tales are the Clerk's and the Merchant's, for which we have analogues if not sources in Boccaccio's Decameron. We must not dwell on these at length, but most readers will recognize that Chaucer has done much to give further realism and pathos to the Clerk's Tale -- the debate being only whether he should have left it a wonder tale and not have tested it against reality. Yet Boccacio had not thought it a wonder tale at all, in the supernatural or loosely used saint's life sense; he conceived it as an exemplum, and Dioneo's comments at the end only serve to exalt its true nobility of purpose, a nobility which the writer of the Tenth Day is seeking to make real enough. The Merchant's Tale also has many marvels in it, many more in Chaucer than in Boccaccio, most especially the remarkable use of Pluto and Proserpine as commentators on the action and machiners of the denouement. But the Italian setting is convincing, and the disputes and ceremonies and garden scenes likewise, and we even approach a wondrously caricatured naturalism in the account of January just before and after the wedding. In short, Chaucer had a more international sense, and had been to Italy. Boccaccio, though he knew France, did not know the far-off British Isles. To him they were like the moon.

Another interesting place for comparison is with the exemplum, that ever present testimony to the medieval notion that stories were for doctrine and for moral profit rather than for mere entertainment. If we accept the test by tradition, we will discover that Chaucer has 7 exempla: Clerk's, Friar's, Man of Law's, Physician's, Pardoner's, Nun's Priest's, Manciple's, and the Tale of Melibee.
Tales

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In addition to these five
~~of~~ contain a didactic ending or a mock-didactic ending: Manciple, Miller, Reeve, Wife of Bath, and Franklin --their forms are exemplary but their traditions not so. Boccaccio uses fourteen traditional exempla (~~see~~ ~~slip~~). But he is especially given to the mock-didactic exemplum, in which the moral is anything but what we should expect from the medieval collections. Indeed, it is by this means that Boccaccio turns the exemplum into a sophisticated literary jest. 2.10, for instance, is in mockery of marriage, a sort of Orchids for Miss Blandish in which the abducted heroine prefers the abducter to the husband or the detective. In 3.1 the nuns make Christ a cuckold, 3.3, 5, 6, 7, and 10 plead for joy in love, including the famous last of these, the putting of the devil into hell. In 4.2 Frate Alberto persuades a lady that the Angel Gabriel is in love with her and manages to lie with her several times. The moral seems somewhat ambivalent, more anti-clerical than orthodox: "Thus a man who was thought to be good and acted evilly without being suspected, tried to be the Angel Gabriel and was turned into a wild man of the woods, and, in the long run, was insulted as he deserved and came to weep in vain for the sins he had committed. Please God that this may happen to all like him." There is a pagan and a Jewish cast to the tale and its origins which belies the exemplum type as used in the fourteenth century. 5.8 is told against ladies who make it hard for their lovers, 5.10 winks at lechery and sodomy, 6.9 ~~is~~ praises 5,6 are for a secular virtue like quick wit, 7.1 is for adultery and clever women, 7.4 ends with "Long life to love! and death to jealousy and all cuckolds!", 7.9 the Pear Tree story akin to Chaucer's Merchant's Tale, ends with the wife forgiving the husband for his jealousy and "Pirro and Lidia" often taking "delight and pleasure of each other at their ease. May God grant the like to us!" (The teller is a male, Pamfilo.) 7.10 is a didactic attack on one of the church's favorite doctrines, the bann on marriage between spiritual kin. 8.7 teaches ladies to beware of tricks on scholars, 8.8 is against learned pretensions and superstition, 9.9 is against shrews and for lovers, and most of the tales in the tenth

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for various forms of secular largesse and nobility. This is far from the atmosphere of Jacques de Vitry or of Bromyard. We may, indeed, illustrate strikingly how Boccaccio could convert a religious exemplum into a secular, naturalistic one. His famous 101st story, which is placed in the mouth of the author in the proem to the Fourth Day, and therefore carries a dramatic conviction not present in many of the other tales, is the Tale Type z 1678, The Boy who Had Never Seen a Woman. It is a traditional exemplum found in Jacques de Vitry, The Alphabet of Tales, the Seven Wise Masters, and ultimately it goes back to the Barlaam and Josaphat of John of Damascus, based on apalogues of the Buddha. Conventionally it is told to show the power of concupiscence, the evil spirit in man, for a boy who is kept from the sight of women by his hermit foster father is told that the first one he sees is a devil, and criesout that he wants one or many such devils. Boccaccio's version deserves at least an excerpted reading with emphasis on his ending:

Richard Alding Fm, tr. The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962 pp 247-249

DELL p. 247-249.

traditional.

Here Augustinian concupiscence has turned to "nature", a desirable element, and the power of love and of the senses is exalted over the caritas which would have been urged in an earlier epoch. It is a highly sophisticated, and not a folk jest, though the tale is traditional.

1 = Proem to Book 4 — "A long time ago there dwelt ... come back To Those for whom I meant it."

One more matter of contrast between Chaucer and Boccaccio. As we have seen Chaucer favors the international tale and the folk jest, Boccaccio tends to favor the sophisticated jest and the local tale. 28 or over one fourth of Boccaccio's tales are anecdotes, broadly conceived as a true story told of an actual figure, narrowly conceived as a bit of verbal wit associated with such a named figure. None of Chaucer's tales purports to be true, unless it is the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, and even that does not name the central figure. Chaucer does use the anecdote as an illustrative part in his more dramatically set, structured, and longer tales; he likewise uses exempla in this fashion, Compare the lists of women whose death is caused by men's lust in the Franklin's Tale. But Boccaccio brilliantly uses the anecdote, real or fictive, for many of

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his major tales; all of Book VI, for instance, consists of witty anecdotes in the formal sense, for the theme of the Day when Elisa presides is the use of wit or witty answers to escape danger. Many the anecdotes of ~~them~~ are tales of local figures, some of them well-known to us because of the fame of the Italian Renaissance in painting and in literature. There are tales of Giotto, Guido Cavalcanti, the Baronci who were Boccaccio's pet enemies, Can Grande, and so on. Perhaps the most interesting are the series of five sophisticated tales involving the artists Bruno and Buffalmacco as instigators and ~~them~~ Calandrino and Dr. Simone as dupes. These are notably not folk-jests, for they represent the enlightened Boccaccio's casting off the chains of superstitious belief. 8.3 satirizes the use of a magic stone for invisibility; 8.6 forces Calandrino to seek the robber of his pig with ginger pills -- he finds he himself is the thief; 8.9 brings the pseudo-learned Dr. Simone to a black mass and drops him into a cesspool; 9.3 in Dr. Simone, egged on by Bruno, Buffalmacco and Nello, makes Calandrino think he is pregnant. He gives them capons and money to make medicine and is cured without having a child. READ 533. In 9.5 Calandrino falls in love with a young woman. Bruno makes him a written charm and when he touches her with it, she goes with him. He is surprised by his wife and has a painful quarrel with her. The jests are surely a link between Boccaccio and Voltaire, and any attempt to say that Boccaccio believed the folk-nexus of the jests would be doomed to failure.

About half (49) of Boccaccio's tales are some kind of jest, but only 28 are international. Not all, of course, are in Aarne-Thompson; that valuable book has only skimmed the surface of the international jest. Of Chaucer's seven jests six are folk-jests; one, the Summoner's Tale, is notably literary. Once more the folk and the international element predominates in Chaucer over Boccaccio. (~~If time~~ Note also that all seven of Chaucer's jests are told by males.) But in Boccaccio

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seventy of the 101 total tales must be by the ladies, the idle Donne to whom Boccaccio so subtly addresses his book as an indication it is not for moral purposes. 30 percent of males tell 40 percent of jests. The jests are rather heavily concentrated in Days VII VIII and IX, Dioneo's day with the tricks of wives played upon wives by husbands, Lauretta's semi-counter to this, tricks of women on men, men on women, and men on men, and Emilia's non-thematic day, which nevertheless turns out to be automatically of a light spirit, a kind of residue of humorous tales and anecdotes collected by the author. VI, as we have seen, has 5 anecdotes. The cynical Dioneo accounts for ten tales, and seven of his tales, those for the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eight and ninth, days, (of the rest) count as jests. 2.10 is a mock exemplum, the No Orchids for Miss Blandish parody; 7.10 seems a fairly serious attack on the doctrine of spiritual incest, and 10.10 is the noblest and most pathetic tale of all, Griselda. The cue to D's rich and exceiting personality, and its persona relationship to Boccaccio himself, is tied up perhaps in such figures, and in the nature of the tales behind them. Once more I think we can say that Boccaccio has in some measure conceived his own persona as the sophisticated libertine, who knows many jests and a large number of them of literary origin; whereas Chaucer has conceived his pilgrims and himself in more naive vein (though no doubt with sophisticated control), and his jests are folk jests, situational, rich in humor and reality, international, and without the urban mnemonic device known as the punch-line.

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p 247 – 249 Ashley Moda comedic.

A long time ago there dwelt in our city a man named Filippo Baldacci. He was a man of low birth but rich and expert in those things appertaining to his state of life. He had a ~~woman~~ wife whom he greatly loved, and who loved him, and they spent a happy life together each striving to do what would please the other.

As happens to all of us, the good woman departed this life, leaving to Filippo nothing of herself but an only child of about two, whom he had begotten on her. Filippo was more disconsolate at the

in fasting and prayer. He was ③ most careful never to speak to his son of temporal matters, so that he might not be withdrawn from God's service, but always spoke of the glory of eternal life and of God and the saints and taught him nothing but holy prayers. Many years they spent in this kind of life, where the son was never allowed out of the hut and never allowed to see anyone but his father.

This worthy man was ②

death of his wife than any other man at the loss of what he most loved. Seeing that he was deprived of the companionship he most loved, he made up his mind to renounce the world and to devote himself to the service of god and to do the same of his little boy. He gave away to charities all he had and straightway departed to Mount Senario where he found a little hut for himself and his child, and lived upon alms

accustomed to go occasionally ④ to Florence, whence, after receiving the aid of God's friends in accordance with his needs, he returned to his hut. One day, when Filippo was an old man and the boy about eighteen he asked his father where he was going. Filippo told him, and the young man said:

"Father, you are now an old man, ill able to endure fatigue. Why do you not take me to Florence with you, and there make me known

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to the friends and devotes of God and yourself, so that I, who are young and far more able to work than you, may go to Florence for what you need whenever you wish and you can stay here?"

The worthy man, thinking that his son was now grown up and so accustomed to God's service that worldly things would have little effect on him, said to himself: „He is right" And

young woman, returning from a couple of weddings. As soon as the son saw them, he asked his father what they were. And the father said:

„My son, cast your eyes up on the ground, look not upon them, they are evil!

„But what are they called?" asked the son.

The father did not want to tell him they were women, for fear of awakening some useless and mischievous desire in his carnal appetites, and therefore said:

„They are called geese".

Wonderful to relate! He who had never seen a woman, re-

so he took his son with him the next time he went. The young man had never seen anything like the palaces, houses, churches and other things with which Florence is filled, was astounded, and kept asking his father what they were and what they were called. The father told him; and when one question was satisfied the son asked another. As they went along, the son questioning and the father answering, they chanced to meet a band of well dressed and handsome

different to palaces, oxen, horses, asses, money and all the other things new to him, immediately said:

„Father, do let me have on of those geese"

„O my son!" said the father. „Be silent, they are wicked things"

„Are wicked things always made like that"? the son asked him.

„Yes" said the father.

Then said the son: „I do not know what you are talking about nor why they are wicked. For my part, I have never seen anything so beautiful and so lovely as they are. They are more beautiful

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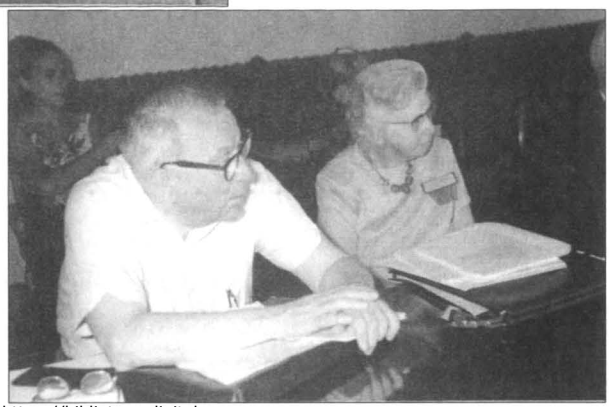
than the painted angels you have often showed me. Oh! let us take one of these geese home with us, and I'll feed it"
"I won't allow it!" said the father; "you do not know how they are fed"
But he felt at once that Nature was stronger than his teaching, and regretted having brought his son to Florence.
--- Best I do not mean to tell any more of this story, and so come back to those for whom I meant it.

"The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio" translated by R Sledington. Laurel edition New York 1962. p 247 - 249

MMB Editorial Note

Footnote or text proper, read or left aside during the oral presentation, Utley's last nine handwritten slips of paper have a value per se. Their text also was typed on 2 perfectly white paper sheets, with a different machine that of the author's, possibly after the Congress and in the idea that there will be a volume (or a series) which will go for print, or that the editors would need an easy-to-read and judge text. Compared to the original, autographed version, I considered the secondary, typed version equally dull and dispensable.

24: Lia Vasilescu, Max Lüthi: Zürich, Francis Lee Utley (FL 1919/27/44560)



25: L. Vasilescu, Francis Lee Utley, Katharine Mary Briggs* (1914/30/44559)

* text & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 244-250, 243, 259, 300.

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Data Concerning the Early Faroese Ballad Tradition

by

Mortan Nolsöe, Norway

Among the narrative Nordic ballad genres taken down from oral tradition the Faroese troll- and hero-ballads show both the most intimate source relationship with medieval saga literature and the most frequent use of stylistic elements from old Icelandic poetry.

The source relationship between such ballads and the sagas has been interpreted in two ways:

(1) Both originate independently in a common source, e.g. an ancient(often lost) Nordic poem(Svend Grundtvig).

(2) The ballad has - directly or indirectly - used the saga as its source(Gustav Storm, Knut Liestöl).

The first hypothesis was rejected long ago, so the first issue in a comparative analysis of such ballads is whether the ballad poet used the saga as an immediate source or whether he only knew an oral version of it. Although long oral transmission necessarily obscures the source relationship of all such ballads, indications in a number of early Faroese troll- and hero-ballads have been found to suggest that the ballad poet had first-hand access to a medieval manuscript of the saga.

In rare cases the development from a saga to a ballad will take an additional step in Faroese oral tradition, i.e. in the form of a folktale. Such a case gives us an unusual opportunity to examine not only the elements of stability and change in the process of transition from one category to another, but also to consider the basic elements of the two folkloristic categories implied.

As an example of this kind I have examined the relationship between an Icelandic saga, Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, a Faroese troll-ballad, Seyðaríma, and a Faroese folktale, Risabrúðleypið. The ana-

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lysis is based upon the following postulates: (a) the saga(esp. ch. 14-16), the ballad, and the folktale relate the same story, (b) the saga is the source of the ballad, and (c) the ballad is the source of the folktale(cfr. Rikard Berge: "Seyða ríma", in "Norsk Folkekultur", Vol. IV(1918), pp. 120-127).

The story in the saga

Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss is a fabulous Icelandic saga about supernatural beings at the time of the settling of Iceland, probably not written until the first part of the fourteenth century. The saga, which shows source influence from the Landnáma book, Icelandic placenames, and folklore, was first printed 1756, but the best edition of the saga in terms of textual criticism is considered the one published by. G. Vigfússon in Copenhagen in 1860. The GV edition of the saga contains 22 chapters, but the last part of it, ch. 11-22, is sometimes called Gests saga(as in the 1756 edition), which some scholars consider the work of another author. However, both parts of Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss form a unity already in the codex Vatnshyrna which is not later than the middle of the fourteenth century.

Our story is printed in ch. 14-16 in the GV edition of the saga and a summary of it reads as follows:

'The shepherd Gusti reports that all his sheep have disappeared, and he has searched in vain for them. The owner of the flock, Þorbjörn, claims that he has not looked in the right places for them, but Gusti refuses to continue the search. Þorbjörn seeks the advice of his relative, Skeggi, who says that the trolls have taken his herd and only his sons can find it. Now Þorbjörn's two sons, Þórðr and Þorvaldr, set out, but having searched in vain half the day, Þórðr wishes to continue alone and asks his brother to return home. A thick mist fills the valley. When it lifts for a little while, Þórðr meets a fair maiden, who disappears again. Next he meets the troll Kolbjörn who says that he has taken the herd, because he owns the valley and wanted to meet

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him. He also tells Þórðr that he has met his daughter Sólrún and gives him the choice either to lose his herd or to get it back by marrying her. Þórðr accepts his offer and agrees that the wedding shall take place within half a month in Kolbjörn's cave. However Kolbjörn makes him promise not to invite to his wedding such persons as Miðfjarðar Skeggi, his son Eiðr, Þórðr gellir, Þorgils spaki, Þorbjörn öxnameginn, Auðunn skökull, and least of all Bárðr Snæfellsáss or any of his companions. Before they part, Kolbjörn leads Þórðr to the lost herd, which he drives home. Here his father asks Þórðr in vain to ignore the wedding. Þorvaldr agrees to accompany Þórðr to his wedding, but when they come to the cave, Kolbjörn is not present. After a while a giant man and his dog enter the cave. He calls himself 'guest'(gestr) and asks Þórðr if he and his dog(Snati) can be his wedding guests. When Þórðr agrees, Gestr takes him and Þorvaldr to a room in the cave to see the bride. She is tied to a chair with her hair and is very skinny because she cannot reach, but only smell the food. Þórðr unties her and kisses her dearly. She tells him to flee from the cave before Kolbjörn, who wants his life and is out inviting guests, returns. When Þórðr asks her if she is Kolbjörn's daughter, she says that her father is Bárðr Snæfellsáss and Kolbjörn has abducted her through sorcery from Greenland because he wants her as his mistress. Þórðr promises to risk his life to save her. Now Kolbjörn boisterously returns to the cave with more than 30 trolls./ When Þórðr and his companions greet him, he looks coldly at Gestr. Kolbjörn gives his guests an abundance of food and drink during the wedding meal. He and the trolls are seated on one side of the table, while the bridegroom and his companions are seated on the other side. Neither the bride, nor Kolbjörn's mother, Skrukka, are present. After the meal Kolbjörn asks Þórðr what they are going to play. Gestr says that the trolls can chose between ~~throwing with~~ hürling knuckle bones or wrestling. They prefer the first game and the troll Glámr starts up by throwing a knuckle bone at Þórðr, but Gestr catches it. He hurls it back and knocks out the troll's eye. Next the

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troll Ámr throws a bone at Þorvaldr, but Þórðr grabs it and sends it back, smashing the troll's jaw. Finally the troll Skrámr hurls a big bone at Gestr, who sends it back, breaking the troll's hand and thigh. Now Kolbjörn stops the game saying that Gestr is too dangerous for the trolls and was invited here against his will. The trolls continue to drink till they fall asleep. Kolbjörn retires to his sleeping room with the trolls Gljúfra-Geirr and Gapi. According to Gestr's advice the bridegroom and his brother also go to rest in a separate room. Gestr himself returns to the wedding hall and kills the trolls sleeping there. Then he wakes the bride, the bridegroom and his brother and they flee together from the cave. The trollmother Skrukka wakes her son Kolbjörn, telling him of the death of the trolls and the escape. He tells her to hurry after the fugitives along the mountain ridges, while he, Geirr, and Gapi will follow after through the valley. When Gestr sees the trolls coming, he haults and orders Þórðr against Kolbjörn and Þorvaldr against Gapi, while he himself will fight against Geirr, and his dog, Snati, will attack the trollmother. Snati kills Skrukka by tipping a large boulder over her. Gestr kills Geirr and then he helps the brothers to kill Gapi and Kolbjörn. Now that Gestr has saved them all, Þórðr asks him to name his reward, but he only wants a free passage to Norway to see the famous king there. Before leaving his friends Gestr tells that he is the half brother of Þórðr and Þorvaldr, who now take Sólrún with them to their home'.

The ballad

The ballad Seyðaríma(CCF 87) is only known in Faroese oral tradition in six variants(A-F), taken down from about 1780 to 1904. Although the first printed edition of the saga appeared 1756, we have no reason to believe that the ballad has been composed after or influenced by it. A comparison between the ballad and the GV edition of the saga shows that the source of the ballad is not only ch. 14-16, but also ch. 11 and 17 of the saga(ch. 11 recounts that the number of the sheep was 500

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and ch. 17 that the name of the Norwegian king was Olaf). We find such a striking similarity between the saga story of these passages and the ballad story that there can be little doubt that the ballad poet has either had a medieval manuscript of the saga - or Gests saga - at his disposal, or he must(as Rikard Berge thinks) have known a very good oral version of it.

The folktale

The Faroese folktale "Risabrúðleypið", which is printed in Jakob Jakobsen's "Færöske folkesagn og æventyr"(Copenh. 1898-1901) as "ævintýr" no. 3(pp. 253-259), is based upon two very closely related oral versions(GP, PO), taken down by the author in the 1890s. Regarding the source relationship of the folktale Jakobsen gives a reference in his book(p. 590) to Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, ch. 14-16, but he is also aware(cf. op. cit., p. XXXII), as/are Jörgen Bloch(cf. CCF suppl. 2, 1905) and later Rikard Berge(in his article), that there can be little doubt that the folktale originally was a retelling in prose of the ballad. In this respect the folktale can be considered as a variant of the ballad, even if it seems clear that its story has also developped according the laws of its new category. Since the folktale shares with the saga story a few narrative traits which do not appear in any of the six variants of the ballad, we must conclude that the folktale represents another variant of the ballad(^{x}G), but in a very limited sense, because we do not know how long it has lived as a folktale.

Stability and change in the ballad and the folktale

As a means of carrying on folkloristic tradition, oral transmission inevitably leads, as we know, to change and variation practically introduced by every new performance. The main reason for this is that oral transmission compared to other cultural media of transmission, as for instance writing or sound recording, is unstable by nature. We may say that the change generally increases proportionately to the length of time a given folkloristic product has lived in oral transmission, but

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this process is also modified by other factors, such as form and function.

A comparison between the ballad, the folktale, and the saga story shows that each ballad variant has more narrative traits in common with the saga than the folktale. Since the folktale originally developped from a ballad variant, this must probably mean that the ballad form generally possesses more stability in oral transmission than the unrhymed and unmetrical folktale form.

If we compare the oldest and the youngest written versions of our ballad, i.e. A from about 1780 and F from 1904, we find that the latter has preserved far more narrative traits of the saga story than the former. The reason for this difference cannot be temporal or formal, but is more likely functional, because var. F was taken down in one of the strongest milieus of ballad singing and dancing in the Faroe Islands. This generally means more frequent performances of the ballads and a better collective control of them. The role as the leading singer in the ballad dance has ~~had~~ meant a strong position in the F district to this day and this attitude has undoubtedly strengthened the ballad tradition as a whole.

Through a comparative analysis of the variants of a ballad or a folktale we can demonstrate both differences and similarities between them, but without knowing their real source we have little chances to make sure which elements or structures are primary or secondary. In our case we have far better possibilities to solve such questions in a comparative analysis by means of the saga story, which also makes it easier to classify the different types of changes in oral tradition. On the other hand it is not our aim through such comparative analysis to reconstruct in detail e.g. a ballad type(archetype).

The basic elements of the ballad and the folktale

The study of the saga, the ballad, and the folktale is based upon

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the assumption that they relate the same narrative although they appear in different forms and functions. The story in the saga seems to represent a local legend taken from old Icelandic oral tradition, adapted by the saga author to a specific form of prose literature for reading purposes. The ballad poet, who in his turn was inspired to bring back the saga story to oral tradition, apparently had no intention to change the narrative structure of it, but he had to transform the narrative according to functional needs(i.e., singing and dancing) to another specific form which also had to correspond with the special troll character and action of the story. For this purpose he used the normal form of the troll- and hero-ballad, i.e. the xaya quatrain(stanza) with a refrain, certain stylistic figures of old Icelandic poetry(i.e., 'heiti' and 'kenningar'), and above all the formula language of similar troll ballads in his repertoire.

The transition of the ballad story to a folktale seems to be at the same time the result of special functional needs and an identification of the ballad story with a related narrative pattern of the troll folktale in Faroese tradition(probably in the AT group 500-559: Tales of Supernatural Helpers). To serve this new function, however, it was necessary to transform it according to the narrative pattern and style of the folktale model. Not only the rhyme and metre, but also the archaic formula language of the troll ballad had to be discarded. Instead we get a combination of every day speech(prose) and significant formulas of the Faroese folktales of magic. However the memory of a few ballad formulas still lingers in our folktale pattern as for example in the poetic desciption that the maiden's first kiss was as sweet as wine on his lips.

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Monica Brătulescu - Romania

Stages in the transformation of Folk Narrative under the influence of Christianity

While in most parts of western Europe, of certain religious narratives we can hardly guess their pre-christian form, in Romania, due to local circumstances, we still find in the contemporary repertoire, narratives in initial and transitory stages of christinization.

In order to demonstrate the manner in which folk narratives were transformed under the influence of the church, we shall refer to the folk genre, "colinda."

Before proceeding to an analysis of this process we shall give some preliminary data on the historical development of Christianity in Romania and on the folk genre "colinda". Probably, here and there, in the territory of Romania, christianity was known from an early date. Among the Roman colonists who settled in Dacia[1] and gradually mixed with the local population, most likely, ~~there should have been~~ were some converts of the new christian faith. However, the first positive archaeological vestiges of Christianity in Romania date from the IV th century[2]. Spread through ancient latin missionaries and adopted only in its basical principles, christianity was practiced by our ancestors in little communities ubsubordinated to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of archbishops and patriarchs[3]. Christianity maintained this peasant form for a long period, the Romanian church acquiring a strictly institutional character.

No sooner than the XIX th century[4]. It can be supposed that in these circumstances, the folk traditions, as well as the

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customs and beliefs brought by the Romans into Dacia, continued to perpetuate parallel to the official religion or intermingled with it. Even when the church acquired a great authority over the people, its influence did not ~~succeed to~~ annihilate the old stratum of the folk culture. In Eastern Europe, the fight of the church against the pagan beliefs had a less methodical character than in Western Europe. In contrast to the organized and distinct ecclesiastical culture of Western Europe, the Romanian village clergymen, often shared a common heritage of traditions with the people. They, themselves contributed to the perpetuation of certain pre-christian practices and beliefs[5].

The "colinda", ceremonial song, performed during Winter Holydays and foundamentally distinct from Christmas carolls, is an ideal genre for analysing the processus of christinization in the folk narrative: first, due to its ritual character ~~of the genre~~ an older folk stratum has been preserved unchanged, and second, through its association with the Christmas date, many religious elements have penetrated into the genre. The colinda assembles in structured entities elements of myth, of folk-tale, religious legend, aetiological legend, epic song and even every-day song. The all-comprising concept of "saga", as defined by Olrik[7], finds its concrete reply in the colinda.

Usually the colinda is divided into two categories: I. lay colinda and II religious colinda.

This division is invalid because only few colinds, those directly inspired by the Bible and certain Apocrypha[8], can be considered exclusively religious colinda. The morphological analysis of the whole genre reveals the arbitrary character of this division ~~into lay and religious~~. Between these two categories no rigid border line does exist. Motifs current in the lay colinda appear in the

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religious colinda and vice-versa. For instance, "the attire adorned with celestial bodies", a frequent colinda motif, belongs not only to God or Jesus, but also to the shepherd or to the king chosen by the army. In the "magnificent bed", another colinda motifs, lie the husband and his wife, the lovers, Saints, or even Jesus crufified.

Pointing out the similitude of motifs employed both in colinda on lay and religious topics, we do not mean to diminish the influence exercised by christianity on the genre. Christianity left its mark on a good number of colinda in the form of religious personages, subject-matters, of ethics.

We have grounds to suppose that sometimes, the penetration of Christian elements had to encountered the opposition of the people, strongly attached to persistent old representations and beliefs. Certain colinda reflect a moment of tension between the old folk stratun and the Christian influence: Saints, and mythological personages put together in the same colinda continue to compete and deny each other. Thus, in a colinda about hunting the stag pretends first to be a metamorphosys of Saint John, then he denies this identity revealing himself as a miraculous being who measures the sky and the earth (Drăgoi, p.100-101, Legnic Hunedoara and mg 2603 Im Tisa-Gurahonț).

Quite often, in spite of their incompatibility, pagan and Christian sources coexist in the same colinda: Saint Nicholas rescues from drowning the ships of the sun, Jesus dances with the sister of the sun.

In certain hybrid colinda characters let us perceived the awkward beginnings of fusion between folk mythology and elements derived from Christianity. Judas, for instance, whose treachery greatly impressed folk imagination, is represented in some colinda as an aquatic monster, having an offspring, or as an underground

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demon who steals celestial bodies.

Quite often, in spite of their apparent incompatibility, pagan and Christian sources coexist. For some colinda types we possess a sufficient number of variants which enable ue to compare the same narrative at different stages of transformation.

In order to facilitate the analysis, for each type in question we shall form improvisory categories.

Our first example demonstrates a rudimentary case of trasformation.

Ex.1 : The young man and the prayer addressed to the sun.

Variant a) During the battle, a young man asks the help of the sun (Frîncu-Candrea p.197, 3x.19).

Variant b) During the battle a young man asks the help of the sun. The sun advises him to pray to God (Rev.Folclor an II nr.3 1957, p. 64, ex.5, Zam Ilia). In this type, the Christian transformation takes the form of an amendement introduced in the text.

We shall pass now to more complex transformations. First we present a colinda obviously connected to folk-tale and myth and a second one, well-known especially as a religious type.

Ex. 2: Hunters transformed into stags.

Variant a) Nine hunters, the sons of an old man are changed into stags, as a consequence of drinking from the track of a great stag. The meaning of drinking from the track of a stag remains obscure in the colinda. The old man, deceived by the animal appearance of his sons, is on the point of shooting them. The sons threaten their father with beastial ferocity (Bartók 4 a Uricanii de sus).

Variant b). The variant b) is much alike the variant a). Only the miraculous circumstances of the metamorphosys have been omitted (Nicola-Mîrza p.65).

Variant c). The variant c) is imbued by Christian ethics. The hunters are changed into stags by God, as a punishment for the excessive practice of hunting. The rude character of the first variant has

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been lost. The sons changed into stags address their father only with mild reproaches (fg 8921 a) Ruja - Tîrnava mare).

Ex. 3: The apples.

Variant a) Three women are picking apples. The moon asks them Where they got the apples. The women have received them from the sun (fg 4296 a Chepea-Carei). We must mention that three women appear in other ritual genres also and, as it seems, present certain analogies to the Greek Parcae[10].

Variant b) In the variant b) some passers by are picking apples which fall on a table. The moon asks them where they got the apples. They have received the apples from the sun (Bartók 48 d, Tok).

Variant c) Three angels are picking apples. The moon asks them where they got the apples. They have received them in paradise (mg 3364 I p, Surdeştiş-Lăpuş). The three mythological personages acting in the variant a) have been replaced by angels). In this Variant the sun is no more mentioned.

Variant d) Some landlords are picking apples which fall on a table. The Mother of God asks them where they got the apples. The landlords have received them from the sun. (Mărăscu, p.56-57). In this variant the sun plays again a part.

Variant e) A man who during his life has proved to be charitable rests in Paradise under a tree laden with apples. The kind man picks up the apples which have fallen on a table. Of the five variants of this colinda, this last christianized form is most widely spread in Romania.

Considering the quoted examples, the subsequent stages in the evolution of the folk narrative can be listed as follows:

1. Pagan and Christian sources coexist in the same narrative in the form of two personages or two dramatic solutions which compete with each other.

2. Elements belonging to an old stratum of folklore and

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elements derived from Christianity coexist, in spite of their incompatibility, in the same narrative.

3. Pagan and Christian elements fuse , giving birth to hybrid personages or to ambiguous endings.

4. The Christian influence is manifest in the form of an amendment included in the text.

5. Elements derived from mythology and folk-tale are omitted.

6. The folk personages are replaced with saints.

7. Christian ethics intervene.

Of course, we do not assume that a fixed order of succession necessarily exists between these stages. The various degrees of evolution in the folk mentality, the chruch influence, its authority, or lack of authority in different districts of the country, as well as the oral character of folklore have certainly determined bonds and oscillations in the narrative transformation.

As a general remark, we may underline the fact that very often, folk narratives which seem to have been inspired by Christianity prove to be skillful adaptations of mythological versions[11]. There are grounds to suppose that Christianity introduced its own ideology in those folk versions which expressed with more force a mythological mentality and consequently were dangerous to the authority of the church.

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N O T E S

1. The Roman colonists began to settle in Dacia in 107 A.D. See "Istoria României" Bucureşti, 1960, vol.I. pp.629-634 and vol. II pp.190-192 and "Istoria Bisericii Romîne", Bucureşti,1957, vol.I, p.36.

2. See "Istoria Bisericii Romîne", op.cit.

3. See N.Iorga "La création religieuse du Sud-Est européen". Conférences données en Sorbonne, Paris 1929, p.23.

4. See N.Iorga,op.cit.

5. See Al.Rosetti "Colindele religioase la Români", Bucureşti, 1920, p.6.

6. Colinda constitutes a case of "bricolage" carried to the extreme. For the concept of "bricolage" in mythology see Lévi-Strauss "La pensée sauvage", Paris, 1962, pp.32-33.

7. See Axel Olrik "Epic laws of folk narrative" in "The study of folklore" published by Alan Dundes, University of California at Berkeley, 1965.

8. We refer only to some Apocrypha because most of them comprize pre-christian beliefs and representations. See N.Iorga op.cit. p.26, and Al.Rosetti, op.cit. p.8.

9. This colinda inspired Béla Bartók's "Cantata Profana".

10. See Florica Lorinţ and Mariana Kahane "O ipostază a Parcae-lor in credinţe şi ceremoniale Româneşti". Report to the scientific sesseion of the University of Timişoara, Romania, March,1969.

11. Probably the colinda types "The plunder of Paradise" and Saint Nicholas" are Christian forms of prior mythological versions.

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"Estetica Basmului" (L'Esthétique du Conte) de George Calinesco - contribution roumaine à l'élaboration d'une esthétique du conte

Radu Nicolesco

Le propos de mon exposé est de faire une brève présentation critique de l'ouvrage - important mais peu connu à l'étranger - publié en 1957-1958 sous le titre de Estetica Basmului par George Calinesco, professeur de littérature à l'Université de Bucarest.[1]

Pour des raisons trop évidentes ma présentation ne s'attardera davantage sur des aspects de méthode.

*
* *

Estetica Basmului repose sur une apparente contradiction délibérément assumée.

D'une part, unique de son espèce,[2] cet ouvrage est une riposte aux modalités courantes (historiques, sociologiques, ethnologiques, psychanalytiques, philologiques et même technico-littéraires) d'envisager le conte, toutes opaques à l'entité esthétique du genre fabuleux; opacité inadmissible du moment que, en dernière essence, celui-ci relève, quand même, des "belles lettres".[3]

D'autre part, Estetica Basmului constitue l'illustration d'une procédure d'investigation de la littérature en général (élaborée déjà par l'auteur entre 1925 environ et 1938,[4] et amplement appliquée dans ses travaux de critique et d'historien de la littérature), en tant que réplique à l'échec relatif des diverses esthétiques spéculatives, de Kant à Benedetto Croce. Or, le principe théorique fondamental, de parfaite lucidité, de cette procé-

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dure fut dès le début - et demeura - la thèse stipulant que l'esthétique en tant que "science" est une discipline fictive, encore à la recherche, laborieuse, de sa propre identité.[5]

Bref, dès les années '30, rejetant de principe toute position de valeurs a priori, Calinesco définissait sa démarche comme une "réthorique fondée en expérience".[6] Pratiquement, affirmait-il, puisqu'il existe non pas un concept clair mais seulement le sentiment empirique de poésie", raisonable n'est "qu'une description essentielle non pas du concept de poésie mais de la poésie elle-même en tant qu'objet de perception de notre sens critique".[7] Cette description essentielle, ajoutait l'auteur dans un esprit plutôt gestaltiste, doit nécessairement partir du principe de l'existence de la poésie "en tant que organisation dont les parties sont subordonnées à l'entier".[8] Dans les limites de ce cadre structural, analytiquement démontrable, la démarche critique est censée mettre en évidence a posteriori les valeurs spécifiques à l'objet et de dresser le constat d'efficacité esthétique de tel ou tel élément identifiable en tant que tel.

Or le conte - et en général la littérature folklorique - constitue pour la critique un cas privilégié. Car, de toute évidence, la circulation folklorique est [redacted] par elle-même, vu son ampleur sociale, un veste test axiologique (y compris esthétique), l'épreuve "de la majorité" (sinon "de l'unanimité") y étant naturellement impliquée chaque fois qu'il s'agit d'un bien folklorique jouissant d'une réelle faveur populaire. Cette axiome est un des principes constitutifs, implicites, de l'ouvrage de Calinesco.

Cette Esthétique, non pas métaphysique mais bien - dirais-je - ontologique, opérant avec l'intuition mais aboutissant, en règle générale, à des schémas logiques formalisables, se propose techniquement deux objectifs conjugués:

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- la délinéation des principales données structurales internes du conte, cherchées au niveau non pas des éléments mais des couples de relations;

- la poursuite, de proche en proche, de "l'effet de représentation" escomptable pour chaque segment-standard des contextes, (le segment-standard étant envisagé, évidemment, en tant qu'organisation syntagmatique récurrente dans le corpus).

L'analyse, portant sur quelques 100 textes roumains ("types" distincts aussi bien que variantes d'un même "type") recueillis durant ces derniers cent ans, est répartie sur trois niveaux conçus en étroite liaison réciproque:

- composition,
- actes spécifiques (métamorphoses, emploi d'objets magiques, etc.),
- dramatis personae

Naturellement, pour ce qui est de la composition du conte, Calinesco relève surtout la stéréotypie pan-européenne du modèle tectonique et de ses "unités de sens" minimes (récurrentes et en nombre limité), unités qu'il préfère désigner soit par le germanisme Schablone (terme exempt de l'ambiguité sémantique de l'usuel "motif"), soit par la périphrase "moment précontraint"[9]. "Trois zmei[10] volent régulièrement les pommes d'or du verger d'un empereur"[11], "Un zmeu vole plusieurs moutons d'une bergerie", "Sept zmei volent la fille d'un empereur" etc., sont des Schablonen, éventuellement - tels les cas cités - équivalents du point de vue fonctionnel, certainement distincts du point de vue esthétique. Les Schablonen éclairent, d'une part, la substance intime du conte (l'idée morale et poétique), d'autre part, la technique de composition [redacted] (leur succession ordonnée)[12]. Le conteur, en "bricoleur"[13], emploie les Schablonen librement à l'intérieur des limites imposées par

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le nombre déterminé de leurs arrangements possibles. On pourrait dire que l'auteur conçoit le conte comme une sorte de jeu d'échecs: chaque classe de Schablonen possède un nombre défini de possibilités de mouvement. En tout cas, Calinesco ne se propose l'épuisement de l'inventaire des Schablonen, ni, d'autant moins, de toutes leur possibilités de combinaison réelles ou virtuelles (et non-vérifiées).

Les deux autres niveaux d'analyse sont projétés, parallèlement, sur un même tableau commun, raisonné, de la phénoménologie des agents et des circonstances de l'action fabuleuse.

Est-elle légitime cette priorité accusée (accordée) au phénoménologique? Pour répondre il faudrait se donner la peine d'observer que - disons - le modèle compositionnel "fonctionnel" de Propp[14], dont la pertinence est incontestable, bien que propre au conte folklorique ne le lui est guère à titre exclusif: les 31 "fonctions" abstraites décrites par Propp peuvent sans difficulté constituer - on l'a plus d'une fois suggéré - le modèle d'un roman d'aventures. De plus, entre autres, nulle part à l'intérieur du modèle de Propp la qualité fantastique des contextes de référence [redacted] n'est sasissable, bien qu'il [redacted] soit, rigoureusement, le modèle du conte fantastique russe. Alors où donc, sinon dans la phénoménologie des personnages et de leurs actes, pourrait-on chercher les critères des nécessaires disjonctions qui individuent le conte folklorique et, en même temps, relèvent le découpage spécifique que chaque culture, par son propre corpus de contes, opère [redacted] dans le champ commun des possibles esthétiques, éthiques, éthologiques?

En principe, l'idée d'inventorier des personnages, des "moments structuraux" etc., n'était pas nouvelle. Pour le conte roumain une telle démarche avait été entreprise dès 1894 par Virginia Rîmniceanu[15] et, parallèlement, en 1895, par Lazare Sainéan[16] - les deux, auteurs d'obédience positiviste. Puis, d'une bonne réputation internationale a joui le minutieux inventaire du conte allemand, élaboré

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il y a plus de 50 ans par Karl Spiess[17], etc.

Ce qu'apporte de nouveau cette extensive Estetica Basmului c'est, d'une part, le fort accent mis sur les "représentations" que les contextes déterminent, et sur la logique syntagmatique de celles-ci. D'autre part, nouvelle est la perspective nettement anthropocentrique - et la vocation "centripète" - que l'auteur reconnaît aux éléments du conte.

Calinesco consacre des chapitres analytiques distincts à chacune de ces classes de personnages et de ces Schablonen (que je reproduis dans les termes mêmes de l'auteur): Zmei, Serpents, Dragons, Géants, D'autres monstres (Moitié-d'homme, la Mère-de-la-forêt etc.), Diables, Symboles météorologiques et chronologiques (la Mère-de-la-bise, la Mère-de-l'ouragan, etc.), Fées, Revenants, Dieu et St.Pierre, le Cheval merveilleux, les Chevaux morts, le Boeuf merveilleux, l'Aigle, le Corbeau, L'Empire des oiseaux, l'Empire des poissons, des écrevisses, des grenouilles, l'Empire des souris, des taupes, des vers de terre, l'Empire des animaux de la forêt, L'Ours, le Loup, le Renard, le Lion, le Porc, le Cerf, le Chien, les Moutons, D'autres êtres (Colombe, Canard, Faon, Mostique, etc.), Métamorphoses, Objets merveilleux, la Procréation, la Précocité pré-et postnatale du héros, le Frère cadet, les Bienfaits - les Auxiliaires du Prince Charmant (Făt Frumos), l'Essence morale du Prince Charmant (Făt Frumos), l'Etourdi, l'Empereur, la Psychologie du sénile, la Fille au mauvais comportement, l'Amazone, le Portrait de la jeune fille, la Perversité, la Jalousie maternelle, la Jalousie paternelle, la Marâtre, les Soeurs méchantes, la Fille noire, la Malignité de la femme sénile, la Misogynie, l'Inceste, l'Idée de classe, le Paysage, l'Architecture, les Vêtements, etc.

Mais l'énorme masse de description que l'ouvrage de Calinesco renferme n'est pas une fin en soi. Elle renvoie clairement, par l'intermédiaire de ses propres articulations mêmes, aux dispositifs abstraits du conte en tant que supports de valeurs[18], quoique

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l'intégration de ceux-ci dans des formules explicatives soit délibérément ignorée par l'auteur.

Pratiquement, l'examen critique se concentre sur la typologie du fonds de personnages, analysé selon un système complexe de coordonnés sémantiques oppositionnelles qui demeure presque toujours, implicite aux opérations analytiques mêmes.[19]

A. Une première opposition confronte la constance des traits connotatifs à la variabilité, éventuelle, des traits dénotatifs, autrement dit, l'entité nominale standard - d'importance secondaire - du personnage à valeur fonctionnelle variable - mais essentielle. Le zmeu (personnage par excellence maléfique des contes et des légendes roumaines), par exemple, est l'antagoniste en titre du héros. Toutefois, il peut apparaître, dans tel contexte, en tant qu'auxiliaire fidèle du protagoniste. Sans que, pour cela, il perde rien de sa noire auréole connotative.

B. Toujours la répartition bipolaire des personnages selon leur attitude (positive vs. négative) envers le protagoniste décide aussi, à côté du critère de la plastique corporelle représentable, de la classification dichotomique de la faune fabuleuse (fût-elle zoologiquement vérifiable ou bien chimérique): le dragon, e.g., est inexorablement et férocement hostile, le corbeau toujours ami, le serpent tantôt ami dans tel contexte, tantôt ennemi dans tel autre etc.

C. Un autre plan de clivage est déterminé par ce qu'on pourrait nommer, le "statut biologique" des personnages. Les uns (tels le protagoniste, les empereurs, les princesses, les zmei, les dragons etc.) sont sujets à une condition évolutive et révolutive - naissent, procréent, mènent vie familiale, vieillissent et meurent. D'autres (tels les fées, les saintes bonnes vieilles femmes qu'on désigne dans les contes roumains sous les noms de la Sainte Mercredi,

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la Sainte Vendredi, la Sainte Dimanche - dénominations et figurations féminines possibles grâce au fait que les nomns des jours sont en roumain du genre féminin -, puis Dieu, St.Pierre etc) attestent une condition "biologique" fixe. Les fées sont l'éternelle jeunesse. Les bonnes saintes vieilles femmes sont invariablement vieilles. L'incorruptibilité confère à ces classes de personnages un évident ascendant sur les autres.

On passe ensuite à la phénoménologie des tensions profondes des contextes:

D. Sur l'axe sémantique pureté (principe passif) /perversité (principe actif) opèrent la jalousie maternelle, paternelle, fraternelle, la passion concupiscente de telle mère ou soeur de héros pour des monstres, zmei etc - d'habitude captifs.

E. L'opposition des sexes se traduit et se résoud soit "normalement", dans la quête de la femme, respectivement dans la quête de l'homme, soit "en aberration", par inceste ou amazonat. Au niveau de la mentalité, la même opposition peut se traduire en misogynie, incriminant la curiosité factologique (opposée à la curiosité explicative - virile - du héros), la crédulité, l'humeur querelleuse des femmes.

Calinesco souligne plus d'une fois la centralité du nexus érotique explicite dans le conte folklorique en général.

F. Une hostilité élémentaire oppose le héros (jeune athlète nubile, ingènieux, parfois d'une étonnante précocité, d'habitude plein de tact envers ceux qui l'entourent - ce qui lui rapporte d'indispensables auxiliaires) aux zmei, dragons etc, auteurs de violences arbitraires. Le zmeu est un anthropoïde à l'anatomie imprécise pourvu de force physique prodigieuse [redacted] et d'autres dons surnaturels, mais stupide, fragile malgré les apparences, hanté par la nostalgie des filles des hommes, mais capable de délicate tendresse envers elles après les avoir enlevées.

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G. Sur l'axe opositionnelle jeune / vieux, à la jeunesse - inévitable - du protagoniste (soit-il garçon ou fille), toujours subalterne, s'oppose la sénilité maligne ou bénigne - toujours hiérarchiquement supérieure - de l'empereur (d'ordinaire, absurde, capricieux, ladre), de l'atrabiliaire mère des zmei, vengeresse de la mort de ses fils, enfin la sénilité de toute une classe de bienfaiteurs (telles les Saintes Vendredi, Mercredi, etc., qui accusent clairement des manies typiques de l'âge avancé: piété, propreté excessive, faiblesse maniacale pour les animaux etc.).

H. L'idée de classe est très vive dans le conte roumain. L'opposition élémentaire qui la traduit est, bien entendu, l'opposition riche / pauvre. L'écart social extrême par rapport à l'ensemble de la population fabuleuse est consacré par l'empereur, potentat tyrannique à pouvoirs discrétionnaires. Tous ceux qui tiennent le haut du pavé, empereurs en tête, s'offrent la volupté insane d'ordonner et d'exaspérer.

I. Le conte se développe suivant une ligne qui aboutit nécessairement à un point décisif de la carrière sociale du héros. Celui-ci - une fois adversaires, rivaux, traîtres etc, liquidés, épreuves infranchissables franchies - épouse la princesse et devient empereur. Le héros, toujours plus ou moins jouvenceau, représente un âge et une crise, tout comme la princesse. Lorsque le protagoniste est roturier, à la promotion sociale "horizontale "(entrée, par le mariage, dans une autre classe d'âge) s'ajoute la promotion "verticale" (avance extrême dans l'hiérarchie sociale par l'accession au thrône).

Pour ce qui est des descriptions en général et du paysage (dans l'acception la plus étendue du terme) en espèce, caractéristiques - au moins pour le conte roumain - sont le vague toponymique et géographique, l'incomensurabilité ou, tout au plus, la computa-

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tion mystique des distances ("au delà de 9 mers et de 9 pays" etc.). Dans la description, toujours sommaire, du Landschaft, de l'architecture ou bien de la beauté des princesses, ce sont les représentation minérales qui abondent (forêts métalliques, en cuivre, argent, or, palais de cristal, cheveux en or etc).

On pourrait dire donc que l'énorme importance du référentiel dans le conte folklorique est judicieusement évalué par Calinesco. De ce point de vue le conte est abordé sous une double incidence: celle du "plan réaliste" (au niveau duquel le conte traite "des problèmes les plus aigus de la vie individuelle, de la famille et de la société, à savoir: naissance, mariage, la qualité physique et morale des enfants, garçons et filles, la qualité de la femme etc.") et celle du "plan hiérogliphique" - le "plan de la mentalité", pourrait-on dire! - qui renvoyait, originairement, au domaine mythique, qui renvoie, actuellement, au symbole, ressenti en tant que tel aujourd'hui par les milieux folkloriques mêmes.

D'autre part, pour suggérer - sur toute l'étendue du front de son analyse - les coïncidences psychologiques et esthétiques inhérentes aux contes (et dérivant des "permanences" de l'homme), en même temps pour dégager les moyens de caractériser l'originalité esthético-ethnique des divers fonds nationaux de contes (originalité retrouvable surtout au niveau du détail), Calinesco s'adresse à un imposant matériel comparatif comprenant des collections de prose folklorique bulgares, serbes, russes, albanaises, grecques, hongroises, italiennes, françaises, allemandes, anglaises, scandinaves, arabes, chinoises, japonaises etc.

Enfin, pour donner une image plus nette de la méthode de Calinesco, il faut relever que toutes ses analyses s'arrêtent volontairement le plus près possible du niveau empirique de l'objet, par le truchement de l'insertion adéquate, dans le contexte cri-

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tique, d'abondantes citations et des résumés reproduisant autant que possible, par des "greffes", le lexique et la syntagmatique de l'original, mimétisme destiné à livrer expressément au lecteur des spécimens de style. L'effet escompté - et obtenu - est l'appréhension simultanée du phénomène verbal concret et du plan sémiologique abstrait qui le sous-tend. Calinesco obtient ainsi des séries dioramatiques commentées démarquant les sériés de variantes correspondantes, visant à communiquer au lecteur l'expressivité des contextes, évidemment dans la lecture du critique.

Sans doute, on pourrait reprocher à cette Esthétique qu'elle reste, fragmentée et n'épuise ni en profondeur, ni en largeur, son objet. Tout comme on pourrait lui objecter l'authenticité inégale du corpus analysé et le fait que l'établissement de la valeur différentielle des textes - acte canonique réclamé par toute esthétique - n'est traité qu'en passant. On pourrait, de même, s'étonner qu'une démarche aussi impregnée par la conscience de système infléchit si souvent sa rigueur, préfère laisser, la plupart du temps, implicites les propositions de principe de sa procédure, et définit si vaguement les unités élémentaires de l'objet - hiatus qui l'empêchent d'être une analyse rigoureusement structurale. On pourrait, enfin, observer que l'ouvrage de Calinesco se constitue plutôt en "esthétique de l'agent" qu'en "esthétique de l'acte".

Toutes ces objections seraient fondées.

Il n'en reste pas moins que cette démarche analytique qui tente de faire éclater le paradoxe de toute esthétique, discipline prétendant - ainsi que le pointait Croce - à rendre compte en termes généraux d'objets au fond irréductiblement individuels, conserve en principe sa validité méthodologique, surtout par la démonstration pratique du fait que tout examen esthétique doit et peut porter, parallèlement, aussi bien sur le plan "langue"

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que sur le plan "parole" de l'objet considéré.

D'autre part, puisque le phénomène esthétique est incontestablement phénomène duplex, fondé sur la tension du couple indissociable esprit humain / objet de l'esprit humain, on doit concéder que chaque lecture pertinente en vaut n'importe quelle autre. En d'autres termes, il faudrait reconnaître que la marche vers la vérité esthétique, marquée par l'accumulation progressive, toujours épurée, d'invariants, suit un diagramme asymptotique.

La contribution substantielle apportée par l'ouvrage de Calinesco (dans le champ des nécessitées urgentes de l'analyse) au dossier général de l'esthétique en train de se définir, est indiscutable. Le seul aspect de méthode qui se maintient radicalement inacceptable, du point de vue même de l'agrégation future d'une esthétique scientifique, reste le cantonnement de l'auteur dans les limites du quid - dont la validité est déterminée par évidence cartésienne - à l'exclusion, programmatique, de la recherche - fût-elle hypothétique, fût-elle dubitative - de tout quae causa axiologique.

N O T E S

1 Estetica Basmului, in "Studii şi cercetări de istorie literară şi folclor", VI(1957), 3-4,(pp.335-484) et VII (1958) pp. 7-135; réédité ne varietur, en volume, sous le même titre, Bucarest, Editura Stiinţifică, 1965, (391pp. in -8°).

2 "Noch fehlt uns in deutscher Sprache ein Werk in der Art von Calinescu Estetica Basmului", note, par exemple, Felix Karlinger (Nachwort, in Rumänische Volksmärchen, Düsseldorf-Köln, 1969, p.292).

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3 "Le conte est une oeuvre de création littéraire, à genèse spécifique et, en tout cas, image de la vie [...]. Par conséquent, soumettre le conte à l'analyse critique n'est pas seulement possible mais nécessaire, vu que celle-ci est à même de formuler aussi bien des vérités esthétiques que des observations d'ordre structural folklorique [...]" - G.Calinesco, op.cit. (éd. 1965), p.5.

4 Cf. G.Calinesco, Principii de estetică, Bucureşti, 1939 (nous avons utilisé la 2-e édition, Bucarest. 1968).

5 On a cru voir, à tort, dans ces réserves (au fond, parfaitement justifiables par tout examen sans préjugé de la puissance explicative et prédicative réelle de n'importe quelle esthétique métaphysique actuellement en service) les échos du scepticisme gnoséologique post-kantien.

6 Op.cit. p.53.

7 Loc. cit.

8 Ibidem, p.16.

9 "Les Schablonen consistent en formules, solutions, situations etc, toutes éléments stéréotypiques dominés par une autre Schablone-thème qui confère à l'entier un sens supérieur" - Estetica Basmului, p.318.

10 Le zmeu est, par vocation, le principal "méchant" de la tradition fabuleuse roumaine.

11 Dans les contes roumains, l'empereur occupe - avec les mêmes "fonctions" - la position des rois des contes de la tradition ouest-européenne.

12 Cf. Viorica Ionescu-Nişcov, G.Călinescu - In Memoriam. Preocupări folcloristice, în "Revista de istorie şi teorie literară", XIV (1965), 3-4, p.757.

13 Evidemment, il s'agit - dans l'analyse de Calinesco - de la présence diffuse, implicite, de l'idée du "bricolage", et non pas de l'emploi explicite, opérationnel, de cette image-concept telle qu'elle a été remarquablement définie par Claude Lévi-Strauss (cf. La Pensée Sauvage, Paris, 1962, pp.48-50, passim).

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14 Cf. V.I.Propp, Morfologhia skazki, Léningrade, 1928.

15 Cf. Virginia Rîmniceanu, Basmele culese de Petre Ispirescu,din punctul de vedere al fondului şi al formei, in "Revista Nouă", III (1894), pp.421-439.

16 Cf. la monumentale monographie consacrée par D.Sainéan aux contes roumains, Basmele române în comparaţiune cu legendele antice clasice şi în legătură cu basmele popoarelor învecinate şi ale tuturor popoarelor romanice, Bucureşti, 1895.

17 Cf. Karl Spiess, Das deutsche Volksmärchen, , 1917.

18 "La création /littéraire/ - écrivait en 1960 Calinescu - est la clarification d'un certain ordre entrevu dans la nature, c'est la nature même rationnalisée, devenue intelligible et exemplaire" - G. Calinescu, Cronicile optimistului, Bucureşti, 1964, p.320.

19. "A côté de la caractérologie il existe une typologie sociale éternelle"; au fond il s'agit d'identifier les paramètres des héros absolus de littérature, qui ont leur psychologie, leur sociologie et leurs institutions propres, qui déterminent les rapports épiques" - G. Calinescu, Domina Bona, in "Jurnalul literar", II(1947), 2, p.1.

20 Estetica Basmului, p.226.

21 Par exemple: "Le conte est tendencieux, l'impassibilité flaubertienne deplaît aux masses. L'étude à froid de l'homme, propre au roman, n'est pas au goût du peuple, qui veut des solutions pratiques, il veut que les "bons" soient aidés jusqu'à la victoire finale, que les morts mêmes qui n'ont pas mérité la mort soient resuscités" - Ibidem, p.331.

22 "Nous affirmons dès le début - déclarait en 1927 Calinescu - que l'idée explicite ou obscure de permanence de l'âme humaine dans son universalité constitue le postulat même de l'art" - Valeur et idéal esthétique, in "Sinteza", I(1927), 1, p.2.

23 "Les phénomènes artistiques ne se révèlent en tant que tels que si un esprit doué reconnaît leur qualité artistique" - Principii de estetică, p.85.

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Contamination et mutation comme modes de création dans la structure des narrations populaire.

par

I.C.Chiţimia

Le système de Antti Aarne - Stith Thompson a mis de l'ordre dans le domaine des narrations populaires, plus que l'on en a fait pour tous les autres genres littéraires du folklore. Les catalogues rédigés selon ce modèle donnent aujourd'hui une image sur la fréquence et la diffusion des types et motifs narratifs presque dans tout le monde. Mais cela n'est pas le but final des recherches. Le folklore littéraire (y compris les narrations), même dans la situation des types communs, n'est point une production avec une forme et structure uniques. Les modalités de structure et d'art dépendent de toutes sortes des mutations géographiques et spirituelles à une longue tradition autochtone. Donc, non seulement l'élément linguistique ou le "mot narratif" jouent un grand rôle, mais aussi les éléments constitutifs qui changent de visage d'une époque à l'autre ou d'une zone géographique à une autre zone géographique.

On trouve souvent de tels changements. Par exemple, l'ancien conte égyptien Les deux frères[1] est, en effet, une contamination

1 La transcription des hiéroglyphes dans A.H.Gardiner, Late - Egyptian Stories, t.I, Bruxelles, 1932, p.9-29; traductions allemandes : A.Erman, Die Literatur der Ägypter, Leipzig, 1923, p.197-209; Herman Ranke, Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament, édition par Gressmann, Leipzig, 1926, p.69-71; G.Roeder, Altägyptischen Erzählungen und Märchen, Jena, 1927, p.89-101 (meilleure traduction); en français : G.Lefebvre, Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique, Paris, 1949, p.137-158; en anglais : J.A. Wilson, Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, Princeton, 1950, p.23-25; en tchèque : F.Lexa, Výbor ze starší literatury egyptské, Prague, 1947, p.197-206; en polonais : Tadeusz Andrzejewski, Opowiadania egipskie, Varsovie, 1958, p.135-151; voir aussi le travail plus vieux de Gaston Maspéro, Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne, Paris, 1911.

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des deux vieux motifs, chacun avec son existence indépendente dans le folklore universel. Dans le premier motif de ce conte il s'agit de la femme, qui, éprise de son beau-frère et repoussée par celui-ci, l'accuse, devant son mari, d'avoir voulu la séduire. Ce motif se trouve d'une manière identique dans la légende biblique de la femme de Putiphar[1], de même dans les légendes mythologiques de Bellérophon et Antée, de Pelée et la reine d'Acaste, ou de Hippolyte et Phèdre[2], le plus souvent sources d'inspiration pour les écrivains.[3] Le folklore enregistré aux temps modernes en contient aussi ce motif[4]. La deuxième partie des Deux frères est elle aussi un conte populaire indépendente et concerne la métamorphose du héros (ou des héros) dans de différents objets, pour échapper à la poursuite d'une femme perverse (belle-mère ou épouse)[5]. Par conséquent, les deux motifs avaient un contenu qui se prêtait à l'unification ce que l'ancien écrivain égyptien Ennene en a fait sans difficulté. Il en resulte une nouvelle narration, qui ne laisse pas l'impression d'une manque d'organique.

Une mutation historique similaire, par contamination, comporte aussi le motif universel des Trois conseils (A Th 910), qui prie naissance, à notre avis, simultanément aussi bien dans le monde asiatique, que dans celui d'Europe[6]. Si premièrement

1 La Bible, Les livres de Moise, I, 39.
2 Cf. Georges Méautis, Mythologie grecque, Neuchatel, 1959, p.222,227 etc.; P. Commelin, Mythologie grecque et romaine, Paris, 1967, p. 318, 337; voir aussi Homère, Iliada, X, v.150 ss.
3 Voir Euripide, Hippolyte, Jean Racine, Phèdre etc.
4 Voir différents catalogues des contes, surtout S.Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, Helsinki, 1961, nr.315 B; aussi J.Krzyżanowski, Polska bajka ludowa, II-e édition, t.I, Varsovie, 1962, p.188 no.568.
5 Voir, de même, les nos 325, 568 etc. des différents catalogues.
6 Voir notre article "Trzy przestrogi" w ksiazkach plebejskich i w literaturze ludowej, dans le volume omagial offert au prof.Julian Krzyżanowski Literatura, komparatystyka, folklor, Varsovie, 1968, p.848 ss; voir aussi notre communication Origine et diffusion des narrations populaires en Orient et en Occident présentée au VIII-e Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques de Tokyo, 3-10.IX.1968; cf. VIII-th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Programme, [Tokyo, 1968], , p.50.

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on consentra l'action autour d'un ou de deux conseils, progressivement on adopta presque partout le nombre des trois conseils, à cause peut-être du rôle magique joué par ce nombre dans les croyences populaires. Par exemple, dans un conte oriental de Birmanie, il s'agit seulement d'un conseil :"qu'est-ce que tu fais-là, qu'est-ce que tu fais-là, je connais ton intention" [1], avec le correspondant au moyen âge, en Occident, sous la forme "Quidquid agis, prudenter agas et respice finem" (ce que tu fais, fais-le avec prudence et regarde la fin) de la légende inscrite dans Gesta Romanorum, légende d'un barbier qui voulait tuer son roi [2]. D'ailleurs l'Orient même connait des narrations à trois conseils [3]. Le folklore même dispose aussi de tels contes avec un, deux ou trois conseils.[4] Mais aujourd'hui le type le plus fréquent dans le monde c'est celui de trois conseils. Donc c'est la dernière structure du thème qui s'est historiquement cristalisée et definitivement imposée. Il en resulte un changement progressif et imperceptible, à savoir une lente mutation historique.

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1 Cf.Buddhaghosha's Parables, traduction de la langue birmane par T.Rogers, Londres, 1870, p.68

2 Gesta-Romanorum, édition par Hermann Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p.421.

3 Cf.Emmanuel Cosquin, Etudes folkloriques, recherches sur les migrations des contes populaires et leur point de départ, Paris, 1922, p.86-87.

4 Voir E.Cosquin, Contes populaires de Lorraine, Paris, 1887, nr.67; idem, La légende du pape de Sainte Elisabeth de Portugal et le conte indien de bons conseils, Paris, 1907; Reinhold Kohler, Kleinere Schriften zur erzählenden Dichtung des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1900, p.167 (légende française du XIV-e siècle).

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Il y a encore des mutations folkloriques un peu artificielles. Par exemple, des contes merveilleux se sont transformés avec le temps en légendes; donc il s'agit d'un changement de genre, comme on en trouve dans quelques légendes du folklore roumain : Luceafărul de ziuă şi luceafărul de noapte (L'étoile du matin et l'étoile du berger), Legenda ciocîrliei (La légende de l'alouette), Legenda florii soarelui (La légende du tournesol)[1] etc., dans lesquelles toutefois on a affaire avec de vrais contes merveilleux, dont seulement la fin converge vers une explication légendaire de l'origine des étoiles mentionnées, de l'alouette ou du tournesol. Par ce procédé les légendes deviennent d'ailleurs très belles. En general les légendes sont très courtes, en échange celles-ci se remarquent par un développement de contes de fées. Parfois, on rencontre aussi des ballades changées en contes. Nous y donnons deux exemples récents et beaux, enrégistrés au delà du territoire roumain, en Hongrie, par le prof. Sámuel Domokos. Il s'agit de deux contes, Cranovitè Marc et Grouia Novac, resultés de deux célèbres ballades, dont les héros sont bien connus. Le narrateur en a entendu ces contes - comme il dit il - de vieux hommes et, étant bilingue, il les a narrés en roumain et en hongrois. Il est intéressant d'observer que les versions roumaines gardent encore des vers dans leurs structures, tandis que dans les versions hongroises il n'y en a aucune trace. Les deux contes sont de belles constructions et n'en contiennent point d'élèments hybrides. Par conséquent, cette fois-ci on est en face d'un changement de structure, par mutation de genre, tout à fait réussi.

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1 Cf. Povesti şi snoave şi legende, sous notre rédaction, Bucarest, 1967, p. 109.

2 Sámuel Domokos, Vasile Gurzău magyar és román nyelvű meséi, Budapest, 1968, p.141 (Kranovitye Mark), p.204 (Gruja), p.314 (Cranovite Marc), p.375 (Grúia-lui Novac).

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En dernier lieu, il y a des changements structuraux, dus aux diverses mutations géographiques, c'est-à-dire au climat culturel spécifique de chaque zone de la terre. Les éléments constructifs, d'un même motif, changent - comme nous l'avons dit - d'une zone à l'autre. Nous avons montré, dans un de nos travaux, que le cheval merveilleux joue un grand rôle dans beaucoup de contes fantastiques de l'Europe du sud-est et de l'Europe Centrale, tandis que dans les autres contrées du monde, au nord de l'Eurasie, en Asie, en Afrique etc. on rencontre, le plus souvent, le chien, l'ours, le renne, l'éléphant, le tigre, l'âne, même la baleine, dans les contes de quelques unes des îles[1]. Ce sont donc des mutations naturelles dans la structure des contes. Et si nous nous limitons maintenant à un seul animal ou à un seul motif, nous verrons qu'il y a des visions spécifiques ou de détails, qui caractérisent une aire quelconque narrative. Sous ce rapport, il me semble qu'on n'a pas attiré assez l'attention sur l'épisode dans lequel le héros obtient le cheval merveilleux possédé par la mauvaise sorcière, qui a empalé les têtes de 99 héros et lui manque encore une tête, en attendant un nouveau malheureux. Le héros vainc toutes les péripéties, et obtient le cheval. Cet épisode est fréquent et caractéristique pour les contes des peuples sud-est-européens et presque il n'en existe pas dans le folklore des autres zones . Nous y citons, comme exemples, les contes roumains Irimia [2] et Crîncu, vînătorul cedrilor [3] Crîncu, le chasseur des forêts), le conte serbocroate Les pommes d'or et les neuf paennes [4] et aussi le conte hongrois L'arbre levé jusqu'au ciel[5]. Il faut souligner que cet épisode prête une struc-

1 I.C.Chițimia, Fauna în basmul românesc : calul, dans "Studii și cercetări de istoria literaturii și folclor", V, 1956, nr.3-4, p.539 ss.
2 Cf.D.Stăncescu, Basme culese din gura poporului, București, 1892.
3 Ion Pop Reteganul, Poveşti ardeleneşti, t.III, Braşov, 1913, p.54
4 Vuk Karadzić, Srpske narodne pripovijetke, II-e édition , Vienne, 1870, p.15; reproduction chez Auguste Leskien, Balkanmärchen aus Albanien, Bulgarien, Serbien und Kroatien, Jena, 1925, p.96 ss.
5 Gyula Ortutay, Magyar népköltészet (Littérature populaire hongroise) ,t.III, Budapest, 1955, p.227; traduction en allemand chez le même, Ungarische Volksmärchen, IV-e édition, Budapest, 1967, p.190 ss.

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ture spéciale aux contes dans lesquels il est inséré et d'ailleurs il constitue la substance de ces contes. De cette manière, le dernier conte cité est vraiment spécifique et important pour les narrations hongroises - comme dit l'auteur de la collection - par le cadre général de l'action qui est singulier, mais l'essentiel du conte réside à notre avis dans l'obtention du cheval merveilleux et, par conséquent, ce conte s'intègre au fond narratif sud-est européen et en même temps aux motifs généraux et universels Ath 314, 530, 531 etc., dans lesquels le cheval est lui-même un protagoniste, sans l'épisode toutefois de l'obtention. Pour les dernières positions et structures on peut citer, par exemple, les contes polonais O chlopcu zlotowlosym (Le garçon aux cheveaux d'or)[1], O trzech braciach (Les trois frères)[2], Baśń o rycerzu Niezginku (Le conte du chevalier Niezginek)[3], le conte tchèque Chnivak ou l'oiseau du feu[4], le conte hongrois Le garçon aux cheveaux d'or [5], ou le conte russe Molodilnye jabloki (Les pommes rajeunissantes)[6]. Dans cette échelle des choses, on remarque naturellement l'art de la structure différente des narrations.

Le dragon intervient aussi dans beaucoup de contes. Dans les contes roumains il porte le nom de Zmeu, qui dérive - dit-on - du v.sl. Zmij. Partout, même sous les noms proches des narrations slaves [7], on l'imagine comme un serpent géant à plusieurs têtes. Il est donc perçu comme un animal-monstre. Seulement dans les

1 K.Mátyás, O chlopcu zlotowlosym, dans "Wisla", VIII, 1894, p.253.
2 O.Kolberg, O trzech braciach, dans "Materialy antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne", VIII, 1906, p.159.
3 A.J.Gliński, Bajarz polski, t.II, Wilno, 1853, p.7.
4 Ah.Chodźko, Contes des paysans et de pâtres slaves, Paris, 1864, p.285.
5 Elisabet Sklarek, Ungarische Volksmärchen, Leipzig, 1901, p.135.
6 Molodilnye jabloki, Moscova, 1951.
7 Voir-le russe Zmiej, sbc. Zmaj et Zmija, pol. smok, tch. zmok i Zmek etc.

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masses populaires roumaines, ce protagoniste légendaire (des contes) est imaginé comme un homme-monstre, avec une force extraordinaire. Pour le dragon même, à une ou plusieurs têtes, les narrations roumaines connaissent et emploient le terme balaur (ou balaure). Par conséquent le personnage roumain Zmeu est, sans doute, singulier et local, lié à un ancien substrat de culture populaire. Donc même l'étymologie (le nom de Zmeu) proposée est, à notre avis, incertaine et se rapproche probablement de termes slaves par une voie commune indo-européenne qui mène vers de vieux fonds linguistiques et culturels. L'art des contes consiste (donc) non seulement dans ce que le chercheur moderne comprend à la première lecture, mais plutôt dans ce que le peuple a imaginé ou imagine dans les contes et aussi dans ce que le philologue peut découvrir sous le premier sens du mot folklorique (de la création).

Il n'y a pas de temps pour y analyser encore d'autres épisodes, personnages ou formes linguistiques et stylistiques, qui démontreraient, de plus, une grande variété d'inovations structurales et de toutes sortes, dans la prose folklorique.

En conclusion, l'homme a crée partout, les peuples ont crée partout, avec une perception spécifique et locale, qu'ils ont héritée des siècles entiers de génération en génération. Il faut chercher non pas (seulement) les lignes communes, les simples schèmes des contes, comme autrefois, pour établir des (des narrations) liaisons mondiales, mais aussi ce qui est de différent, ce qui constitue l'art novateur dans la création narrative des peuples.

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REMEMBERING '69: CELEBRITIES' LETTERS CONNECTED TO THE 5TH ISFNR CONGRESS (PART 1)

MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAȘA

ABSTRACT

This is a pictorial-like based article devoted to the publishing of the academically consistent letters which were exchanged in connection with the 5th ISFNR Congress (Bucharest, Romania: August 25-31, 1969). Selected out of several hundreds, though an incomplete collections, these 100+ belong (with just a tiny exception) to the Archive of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, in Bucharest (archival records: AIEF, MS 270), where the team of its director of yore, Mihai Pop, preserved them, boxed and closed them up), and then ignored. Forgotten for a half a century, they are exposed now especially for the contemporary research to better realize the power of connecting, exchanging, building up both personal, socio-political and academic ideas and careers, through meeting-arrangements, postal letters, public gatherings, and influential ideological and professional/epistemological discussions.

Keywords: ISFNR/International Society for Folk Narrative Research, SIEF/Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, folklore, folklore studies, ethnology, narratives, archive, letters, academic life, personalities.

Among many things academically-related, the 1960s were characterized by the competition between SIEF (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore) and ISFNR (International Society for Folk Narrative Research), the two major European institutions (actually of global membership) focusing on the study of folk life and folklore products. Many professionals in this field belonged to both institutions, and the Romanian prof. Mihai Pop (1907-2000), a diplomate during the WW2 period, then a very successful leader, mentor and influencer during communism, worked as a turntable for both communist East and democrat West, SIEF and ISFNR, people and systems[1]. One of the pinnacles of his achievements was the organizing and hosting of the 5th ISFNR Congress in Bucharest (August 26-31, Bucharest). In several Editorial Notes, initially prefacing, then modestly piercing/inserting, footnoting or ending texts and pictures, I already gave some data

[1] For the popularity and prestige of M. Pop and his institution among Westerners, see (for just an example) Brunvand 1972.

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and explanations on the (complex) fate of the 1969 ISFNR Congress's aftermath[2]. On the one hand, it was about the political and academic importance, consistency or weight of that particular event; on the other hand, it was about the numerous presentation papers left behind, collected or sent by participants, and hoped to come out as a volume (perhaps/rather 2 or 3) of printed *Proceedings*. As the ISFNR used that meetings before and after the 5th congress to get finalized by printing, the Bucharest one was a regrettable exception in that respect; and questions on plans and happenings connected with that falling through haunted the questioning minds of many ISFNR members afterwards, for many years.

On the occasion of launching the process of publishing the delivered texts left behind by participants I also included a formal letter coming from the most important academic publishing firm in Bucharest[3], which was informing director Mihai Pop on the failure in obtaining the cooperation of two foreign/international publishing venues – in view of printing properly all the ISFNR Congress works. Mihai Pop himself – the major, very charismatic and political personality involved in managing whatsoever connected to organizing and finalizing the 1969 congress in Bucharest – also abandoned the printing project. In the meantime (1972) he became the president of the SIEF, and kept that position for over a decade. If reading the website of the SIEF one can see that SIEF still considers that particular decade as one of the worse, least fruitful, truly disappointing period of its survival. And if one reads the historical re-evaluations of SIEF-connected colleagues[4], one obtains a deeper perception on the proportions and effects of what(ever) people did or not, achieved or failed. Accordingly, it all meant that Mihai Pop – though in a not-at-all-confronting way, by actually doing nothing – succeeded in neutralizing the SIEF (and its intended anthropological academic bend), succeeded in leaving room for the ISFNR (with its literary, descriptive/scholastic ethnographism, as well as positivistic/materialist focus) to prosper. Simply put, he supported and continued quite efficiently Kurt Ranke's competing, winning/expanding and consolidating work. During that period most of the professional communities joined the ISFNR, as that when the SIEF somehow resurrected it counted the same personalities within its leading board. Two-of-one, same-in-two... For sure, postmodern analysts of academic missions, paradigms and histories will have a lot to understand on such a matter.

Coming back to the Bucharestan congress only, as mentioned, the mid-1970s buried the *Proceedings* publishing project, the texts/articles left behind lying dormant for many decades. Only to resurge after almost a decade post-2007 – since our Journal of Ethnography and Folklore became fully international (i.e. publishing only in international languages) –, at the beginning with the idea of just illustrating

[2] Apart from the signed lines in Marian-Bălaşa 2016, 2017, 2018, from 2020 on all the *Iconographical Intros* and notes to pictures bore various pieces of information.

[3] Marian-Bălaşa 2016: 192.

[4] See, for example, Kuhn 2015 and especially Rogan 2013, 2015.

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the 1969 Congress by a handful selection of original texts. Hence, in 2015-2017 I could not foresee the grandeur of the entire new project, as it grew up naturally, progressively. Only after accessing all that was preserved in the institutional archive (two large boxes with academic texts and one of letters from participants) the historic and trans-historic value of whatever was hoped and achieved in 1969, of whatever marked the moment and set up for future academic developments by that time, turned to be very significant, very impressive.

The present contribution is not about the large picture given by all the texts – that had been published since 2016, and continue, respectively awaits over the next five years to fulfill/complete this recuperation/"Restitutio" project. Just like in a parenthesis, I mention here that some congress papers were not found in the archival boxes, perhaps not handed over after the actual presentation in 1969 (though the session secretaries, young employees of the Institute in Bucharest, seemed to be quite serious in performing their tasks), some fellows possibly intending/promising to provide ulterior, re-edited versions or text developments. Apart from counting/not counting on missing text pieces, in order to avoid to stretch the project over a 15 years span, as well as to publish papers inaccessible to most of us, I decided to ignore/reject everything that was presented in Russian and was left written in Cyrillic alphabet.

As said, here and now it is neither about academic papers *per se*, nor about the tough process of identifying (in over 200 photos taken during the Congress) the many participants – as to also publish that rich resource and make pictorials that would surpass the humble idea of just decoratively illustrate the printed texts, eventually succeeding in providing an iconographic metatext[5]. Both purpose and content of the present material are about illustrating the extension and style of performing specifically academic interests, enthusiasm, diplomacy, discipline, charisma, subjectivity and intellect in connection to un-specifically objective, administrative, social and political conjectures. In the end, what is here at stake is the observation/analysis of that which can be perceived and conceived today as *the infrastructure of knowledge – as well as career – production.*

Not all the letters received and/or sent in connection to the Congress in 1969 were preserved in the archival box. From the very content of some of them it is obvious that the exchange was way more intense/frequent, and many letters clearly mention the known-about other exchanges. For instance, some letters were sent to the president Kurt Ranke in Göttingen, who forwarded them to Mihai Pop, Ranke's trusted man in Bucharest. The wheel of professional connections in the USA or other American parts rolled down towards Bucharest grace either to the pleasure of having already met the charming Mihai Pop in some Western/USA visited university centers, as well as own to the curiosity of visiting a communist country

[5] This one facet accompanies the facsimile texts (though shortened, still existing in electronic, enlargeable size), now as introductory ("introducing") pictorials, each series of the annual project opening with 3 or 4 pages of photos capturing authors' and other participants' faces.

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recently opening up to the world. Learning about the place of the Congress had launched numerous gestures of redirecting infos, names and addresses, people extensively crisscrossing information, intentions and recommendations. To avoid mishaps and misunderstandings, info-sharing was almost excessive, crossing and jumping throughout all sides, repeating itself and insuring efficiency. To history sensitive minds many letters are of worth mostly for noticing the pragmatism of those times collegial support, good intend, efforts, determination.

Out of the very numerous letters still found I selected and scanned for publishing only the most interesting or generous from intellectual, human, and academic points of view, letters which also are less charged with rather administrative, banal aspects, and which present various particularities (peculiarities included).

Within this line, here you are a handful of samples. From Stith Thompson there exists only a letter announcing that he will come to the Congress (and his wife Louise will accompany him), plus M. Pop's answer. From Thomas A. Sebeok there is 1 administrative letter + 1 telegram. Carl-Herman Tillhagen writes 7 lines only (informing he'll come); Katharine Mary Briggs – only 8 lines (now/here, insignificant). In 1968 Gisela Burde-Schneidewind sends to Pop 2 letters, whereas in December 1969, long after the Congress, Pop provides for her a certificate of participation. From India, Sen Gupta Sankar/Shankar has 2 letters, complaining he could not raise the necessary finance, and we have for him one answer from Pop. (Eventually, he will be successful, as his presence in Bucharest is visually documented.) Rosa del Conte has one letter of her and one answer from Pop, plus one autobiographical note – all of no interest. Also 2 letters from Byrd H. Granger provide many administrative details related to the Congress – uninteresting to us or posterity. Most of the Russians and Germans are very formal, simplistic, materialistic/pragmatic. Like others, Albert B. Lord has a boring page (hotel reservation & $10 fee). Katharine Luomala's 2 letters are equally insignificant. Kurt Ranke signs only 3 letters, their disparity proving that his exchange with Mihai Pop („Liebes Mihai") was much more frequent/intense. The little left behind is, however, strictly managerial by content, reason why only the page in which Ranke proposes/nominates a list of Congress leaders is worth knowing/publishing here.

The decision for publishing the letters in their original, scanned format, not just as fragments or quotes, lies in the trust that handwritting and annotations are immaterial/intangible signs, signals and values, and they do symbolize, contain/encompass and suggest indispensable aspects, such as those of pure historical documents, of a remapping, recharting and rechartering of an extensive human geography, and above all, of a complex charge of humane, sensitive loads. All these can be perceived only by watching and reading the documents entirely, attentively, as if one would touch and feel these epistlegrams' original support, mental elaboration, typing or handwriting, revising, signing, folding, posting, and

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sharing, thus & hence mediating the paradigmatic moves and joints of the real ISFNR world of the 1960s.

As implied here, the „facsimile" idea and matter may not be clear to all colleagues, in the sense that many seniors still consider that a „facsimile format" refers to a document rendition that respects in print the original dimensions of a manuscript. That is way it is worth and timely (since a new/different idea of „facsimile" has been used here since 2016 on) to explain it. Indeed, prior to the contemporary scanning, storage and circulating methods a facsimile publication used to be a 100% reproduction of originals, physical dimension included. Though, that old concept is nowadays revolute, dispensable, as thorough studies over old writings need no longer printed paper reproductions, rather implying work upon virtual images, scans and processed/unprocessed photos, which became handy and faultless, indisputably preferred. Since the virtual handling, high resolution techniques and preservation were installed and became current worldwide, documents can be copied, stored, reproduced and distributed in any form, format/resolution and dimension one desires; thus, why not first to make known about documents in elementary forms/formats (as done here), and then – on request, if the case – provide those digitized documents in as large dimension (pixels/gigabytes) as they exists in the patrimonial archives they were also scanned and digitized. So, in terms of publishing the sequence of conference papers delivered within the 5th ISFNR, as well as with the case of letters here presented in smaller than the original format/dimension, I always talk of „facsimile" by keeping in mind the preserved and available originals in their virtual, digitized format. As suggested, whenever somebody will need to see all the tiniest details that may not appear properly/clearly on the hereby printed pages, and read the faded words of some letters, virtual reproductions, expandable at will, can easily be provided/accessed.

Another explanation may also be useful in connection with the light, nonconventional, more precisely „incomplete" introduction/presentation of mentioned personalities. In the past, the academic pedantry required all names or persons be accompanied by the parenthesis carrying the life span years, perhaps the affiliation too, or rather a more or less generous footnote sketching/resembling a biodata. Such an expectation or politeness was useful („natural") in the times prior to the internet. With the excessive information available there today, and with so many info resources (Wikipedia getting more and more academic!), such a mimetic convention is nowadays not only useless, but ridiculously redundant. At least with occasions (such as the present one), let students search a little bit around the online universe (if interested in biodata, years, works or other details), and spare some of us from wasting time in doing such a simplistic, unimaginative work (just for the sake of prolonging the outfashioned formal framework of bureaucratic intellectual writing). I do hope that subtler issues were suggested within the lines above, as to invite or at least leave space for different sights, meanings and interests in revisiting the academic histories and human involvements of yore.

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An *adhoc* leading committee for ISFNR business discussions (August 1969, Bucharest): Lawrence Krader, ?, ?, Roger Lecotté, Tekla Dömötör, Mihai Pop, ?, Robert Wildhaber, Kurt Ranke, Karel C. Peeters (FL 1918/24/44470)

Karel C. Peeters, ?, ?, Roger Lecotté, Tekla Dömötör, Mihai Pop, ?, Robert Wildhaber, Kurt Ranke (FL 1918/23/44469)*

* Like most of the letters to be published here, also the photos belong to the archive of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (of the Romanian Academy), and bear the archival record figures. The 2nd pic was published in REF/JEF 1-2/2018: 318, the 1st is scheduled to get published, together with their entire 5 pics series, in REF/JEF 1-2/2027.

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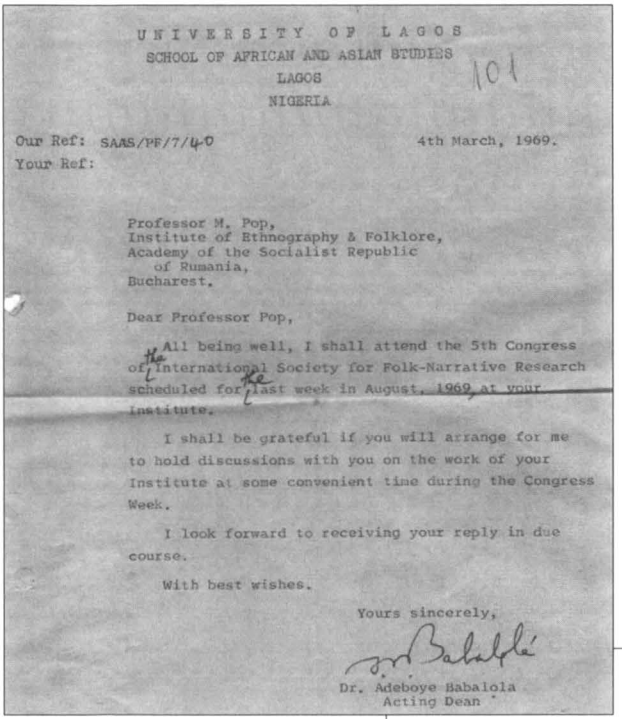

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS
SCHOOL OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES
LAGOS
NIGERIA

101

Our Ref: SAAS/PF/7/40 4th March, 1969.
Your Ref:

Professor M. Pop,
Institute of Ethnography & Folklore,
Academy of the Socialist Republic
of Rumania,
Bucharest.

Dear Professor Pop,

All being well, I shall attend the 5th Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research scheduled for the last week in August, 1969 at your Institute.

I shall be grateful if you will arrange for me to hold discussions with you on the work of your Institute at some convenient time during the Congress Week.

I look forward to receiving your reply in due course.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Adeboye Babalola
Acting Dean

1. Sender's delivered paper & photos, in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2020: 282-300, 1-2/2021: 224, 285, 1-2/2022: 277, and others.

2. Though working with several assistants in the operation of following the intense incoming mail and careful answering (see on various letters warning, questioning and ordering hand-written notes in Romanian, exchanged between Mihai Pop and his managing team), it seems that the Romanian director read and personally answered many letters.

29th March 1969

Dr.Adeboye Babalola
Acting Dean
School of African and Asian Studies
University of Lagos
LAGOS

101

Your Reference: SAAS:PF/7/40

Dear Professor Babalola

Thank you so much for your letter of March 4th and indeed I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting you to the Congress of the I.S.F.N.R.

Every participant in the Congress will be able to visit my Institute and will have ample information about our works here. I will enjoy of course, a discussion with you, whenever we will have some spare time.

Sincerely yours,

Prof.Mihai Pop

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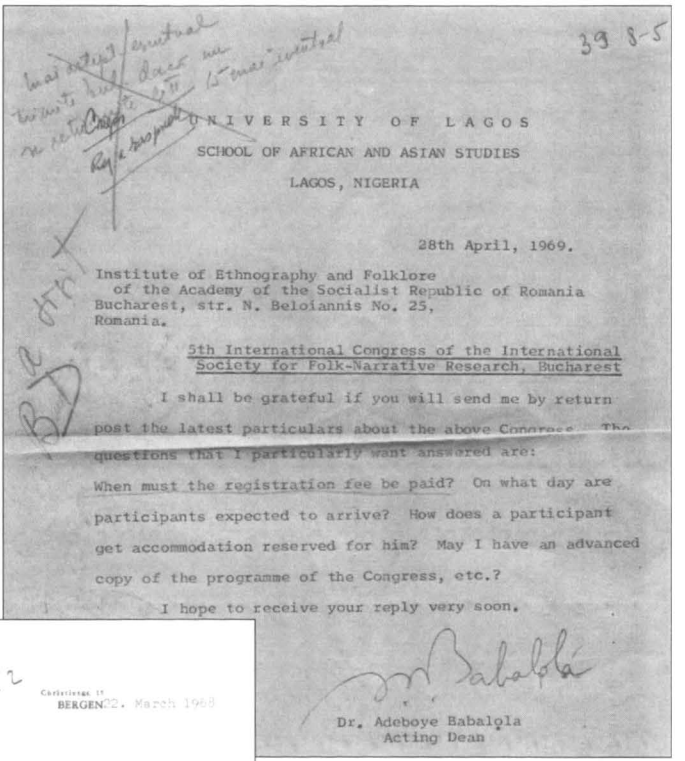
3. Prof. (Solomon) Adeboye Babalola's systematic care for insuring his presence to Bucharest.



UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

SCHOOL OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES

LAGOS, NIGERIA

28th April, 1969.

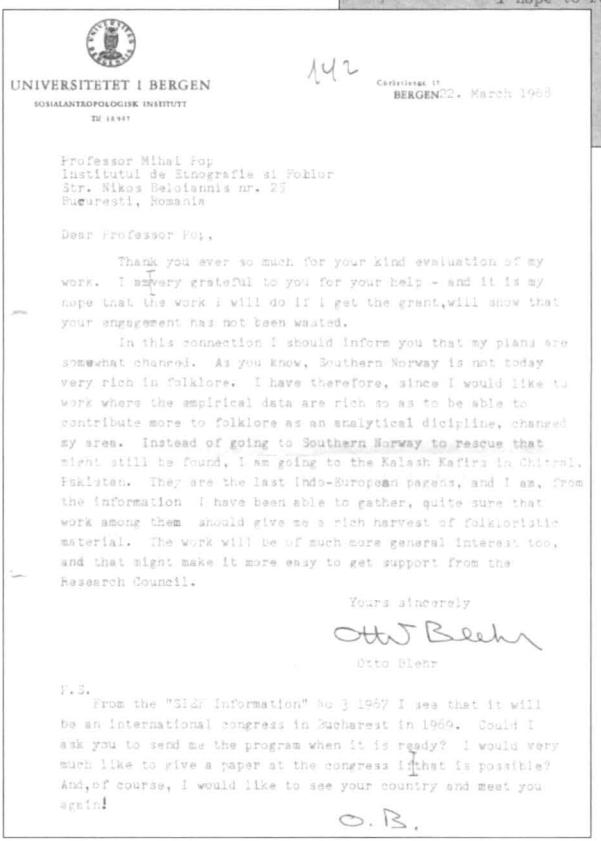
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore
of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, str. N. Beloiannis No. 25,
Romania.

5th International Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, Bucharest

I shall be grateful if you will send me by return post the latest particulars about the above Congress. The questions that I particularly want answered are: When must the registration fee be paid? On what day are participants expected to arrive? How does a participant get accommodation reserved for him? May I have an advanced copy of the programme of the Congress, etc.?

I hope to receive your reply very soon.

Dr. Adeboye Babalola
Acting Dean



UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

SOSIALANTROPOLOGISK INSTITUTT

BERGEN 22. March 1968

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie si Folklor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
Bucuresti, Romania

Dear Professor Pop,

Thank you ever so much for your kind evaluation of my work. I am very grateful to you for your help - and it is my hope that the work I will do if I get the grant, will show that your engagement has not been wasted.

In this connection I should inform you that my plans are somewhat changed. As you know, Southern Norway is not today very rich in folklore. I have therefore, since I would like to work where the empirical data are rich so as to be able to contribute more to folklore as an analytical discipline, changed my area. Instead of going to Southern Norway to rescue that might still be found, I am going to the Kalash Kafirs in Chitral, Pakistan. They are the last Indo-European pagans, and I am, from the information I have been able to gather, quite sure that work among them should give me a rich harvest of folkloristic material. The work will be of much more general interest too, and that might make it more easy to get support from the Research Council.

Yours sincerely

Otto Blehr

Otto Blehr

P.S.
From the "SIEF Information" No 3 1967 I see that it will be an international congress in Bucharest in 1969. Could I ask you to send me the program when it is ready? I would very much like to give a paper at the congress if that is possible? And, of course, I would like to see your country and meet you again!

O. B.

4. Coming after a previous contact and benefitting from some kind of support or recommendation by M. Pop, Otto Blehr expresses interest in "the last Indo-European pagans" in Pakistan (research project), and the desire to attend the Bucharestan ISFNR Congress.

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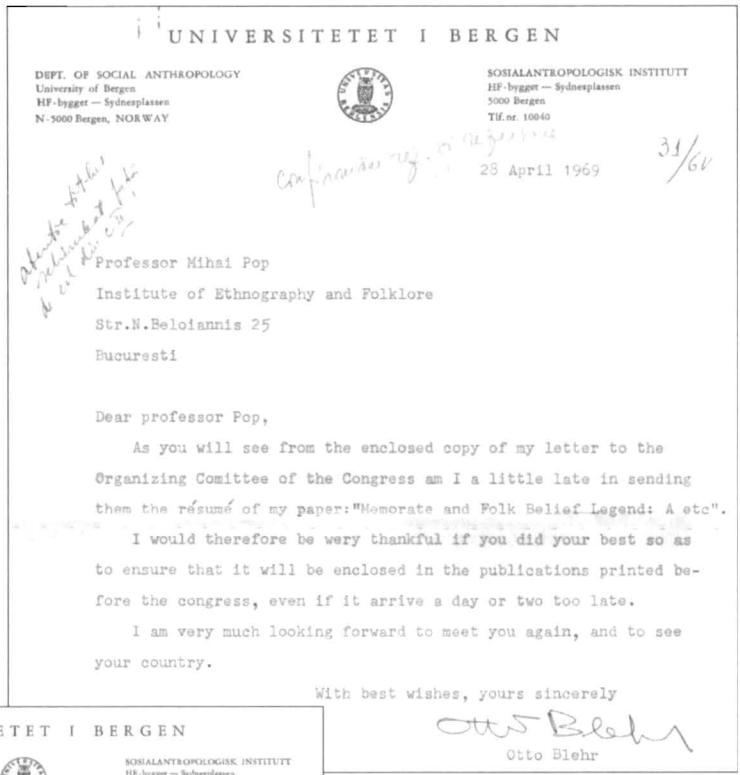
5. & 6. Otto Blehr proceeds with the registering formalities and is included among speakers, thus published in the printed Program; yet his presence is not certain: no individual photo taken during the delivering session, no confirmation by someone that could recognize him on one of the remaining group photos.



UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

DEPT. OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
University of Bergen
HF-bygget — Sydnesplassen
N-5000 Bergen, NORWAY

SOSIALANTROPOLOGISK INSTITUTT
HF-bygget — Sydnesplassen
5000 Bergen
Tlf.nr. 10040

28 April 1969

31/64

Professor Mihai Pop
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore
Str.N.Beloiannis 25
Bucuresti

Dear professor Pop,

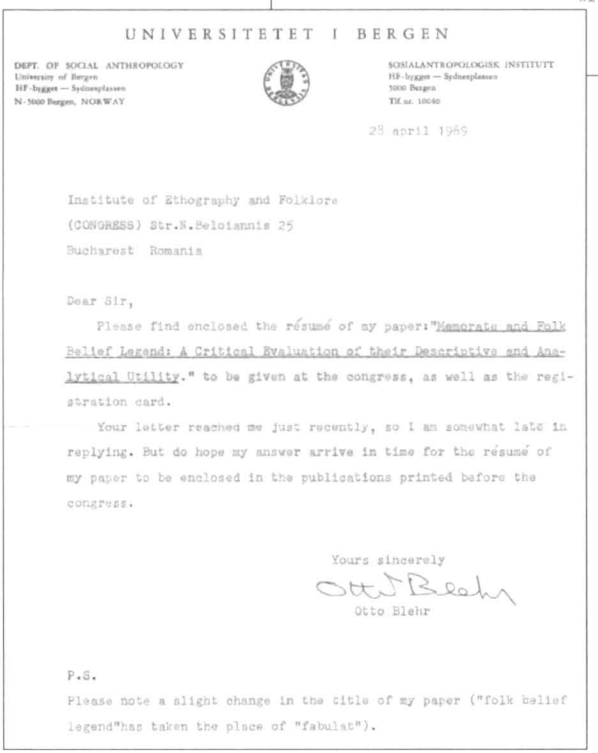
As you will see from the enclosed copy of my letter to the Organizing Comittee of the Congress am I a little late in sending them the résumé of my paper:"Memorate and Folk Belief Legend: A etc".

I would therefore be very thankful if you did your best so as to ensure that it will be enclosed in the publications printed before the congress, even if it arrive a day or two too late.

I am very much looking forward to meet you again, and to see your country.

With best wishes, yours sincerely

Otto Blehr



UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

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SOSIALANTROPOLOGISK INSTITUTT
HF-bygget — Sydnesplassen
5000 Bergen
Tlf.nr. 10040

28 april 1969

Institute of Ethography and Folklore
(CONGRESS) Str.N.Beloiannis 25
Bucharest Romania

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed the résumé of my paper:"Memorate and Folk Belief Legend: A Critical Evaluation of their Descriptive and Analytical Utility." to be given at the congress, as well as the registration card.

Your letter reached me just recently, so I am somewhat late in replying. But do hope my answer arrive in time for the résumé of my paper to be enclosed in the publications printed before the congress.

Yours sincerely

Otto Blehr

P.S.
Please note a slight change in the title of my paper ("folk belief legend"has taken the place of "fabulat").

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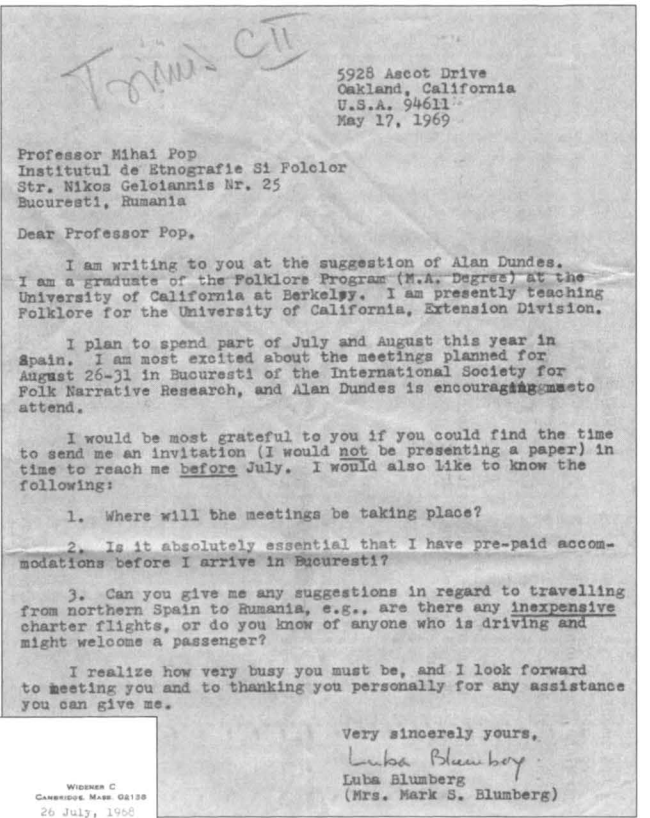
7. Student of Alan Dundes (U. of C. – Berkeley), Mrs. Luba Blumberg might not have made it from Spain to Romania that summer (as a passive attendee), since there is no female company around Dundes on any of his photos (printed in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 221, and forthcoming vols).



5928 Ascot Drive
Oakland, California
U.S.A. 94611
May 17, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Geloiannis Nr. 25
Bucuresti, Rumania

Dear Professor Pop,

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Alan Dundes. I am a graduate of the Folklore Program (M.A. Degree) at the University of California at Berkeley. I am presently teaching Folklore for the University of California, Extension Division.

I plan to spend part of July and August this year in Spain. I am most excited about the meetings planned for August 26-31 in Bucuresti of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, and Alan Dundes is encouraging me to attend.

I would be most grateful to you if you could find the time to send me an invitation (I would not be presenting a paper) in time to reach me before July. I would also like to know the following:

1. Where will the meetings be taking place?

2. Is it absolutely essential that I have pre-paid accommodations before I arrive in Bucuresti?

3. Can you give me any suggestions in regard to travelling from northern Spain to Rumania, e.g., are there any inexpensive charter flights, or do you know of anyone who is driving and might welcome a passenger?

I realize how very busy you must be, and I look forward to meeting you and to thanking you personally for any assistance you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,
Luba Blumberg
Luba Blumberg
(Mrs. Mark S. Blumberg)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

COMMITTEE ON DEGREES
IN FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY

WIDENER C
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138

26 July, 1968

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Academia Republicii Socialiste România
Institutul de etnografie şi folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis Nr. 25
Bucureşti
Rumania

Dear Prof. Pop:

Thank you for your kind reply to Prof. Lord concerning our desires to attend the next congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research.

Since my letter to you in April, Prof. Lord and I have learned from Prof. Kurt Ranke that the next meeting of the ISFNR is planned for 1969 at Sibiu, and that in order to participate we must be elected members of the Society. We therefore have asked an American member of the Society, Prof. Francis L. Utley at Ohio State University, for his help, and he has nominated us to the European Committee on Membership.

Prof. Utley has said that he does not know when the Committee on Membership will act on the nomination, but he expects that if we are accepted for membership it will be done in time for us to attend the meeting in Sibiu. Encouraged by this hope, I would like to renew my request to present a paper at the meeting. Prof. Ranke has told us that the meeting will probably be divided into three sections. I hope that the paper I want to read on "Creatures of Mixed Form in Slavic Folktale" might fit into the plan of the First Section on the Gesetzmässigkeiten of narrative, or into the Third Section on miscellaneous subjects; the paper is about the regularity in Slavic folktales of an opposition between heroes and other folk-narrative beings who have "pure" forms and fixed dwellings, and those of mixed character and itinerant habits.

I realize that this is a difficult request to answer while I am not yet a member of the Society, but I shall be very much indebted and grateful to you for whatever help you may be willing or able to extend.

Very Sincerely yours,
David E. Bynum
David E. Bynum

8. David E. Bynum's lines are referring to previous correspondence with Albert B. Lord (who mediates his and Bynum's presence to the Congress) and Kurt Ranke, as well as with Francis Lee Utley (also an important ISFNR leading figure). It seems that by this time neither Lord nor Bynum are members of the ISFNR, hence they membership need first to get recommended, discussed and approved in order to attend the Congress. Apparently, members would be accepted also by postal or verbal dialogues and agreements, so that Bynum could proceed, as he does here, by forwarding the title of his paper and subsequent insertion in the printed Program. His paper and photos are published in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 239-250, and forthcoming.

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9. J. Westley Childers is hasting to forward his title and abstract immediately after receiving the "1st Circular" (inviting letter) about the Congress in Bucharest. His presented paper is scheduled to come out in IEF/JEF 1-2/2027.

SOUTHERN STATE COLLEGE

MAGNOLIA, ARKANSAS 71753

October 24, 1968

Organizing Committee
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore
Nikos Beloiannis Street, No. 25
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Sirs:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to participate in the Fifth International Congress of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research to be held in Bucharest August 26-31, 1969. I accept with pleasure.

The paper which I propose for your consideration is "The Lioness' Divorce Suit: A Fable With International Dimensions." This fable appeared in a Spanish picaresque novel of 1624. In brief, the lioness is suing the lion for a divorce because he has bad breath. Animal witnesses are brought to testify and are killed by the lion when they testify against him. Finally, the fox is called to testify. When the lion blew his breath upon him, the fox replied that he had such a bad cold that he could not smell anything. The fox saved his life by this clever answer.

I propose to trace this fable through several other European versions, showing how each version reflects the social or political background of the country where it appears. I hope that this topic will be acceptable.

I should appreciate it very much if you would have the Romanian Travel Office mail me some materials on tours out of Bucarest. I am interested in travelling through Yugoslavia and Greece. Thank you for this favor.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Wesley Childers

J. Wesley Childers, Chairman
Department of Modern Languages

16 rue Cépré, Paris 15, France
25 avril 1969

Confirmé mon [illegible] de participer

26/6 v

Monsieur le Directeur,

Vème Congrès de la Société Internationale pour l'Investigation du Conte Populaire

Veici le texte ci-joint de ma communication pour le congrès de Bucarest (août 1969) (résumé d'1 page): Contes et traditions orales de l'ancien théâtre français chez Rabelais et chez La Fontaine ,
par Ariane de Félice, Docteur ès-Lettres
(Sorbonne, Faculté des Lettres et Musée de l'Homme, Paris).
Je vous envoie également l'un de mes bulletins d'adhésion et la liste previsoire de mes publications sur l'ancien théâtre français et le folklore .

Je vous prie de recevoir, Monsieur le Directeur, l'expression de mes bien vifs remerciements et de mes sentiments très distingués.

A. de Felice

Ariane de FELICE
Docteur ès-Lettres
Paris

10. Besides this letter, Ariane De Félice, also sends an "adhering bulletin" (perhaps the ISFNR membership application), her abstract, together with two small slips of paper that amass her publishing references (both on the following page).

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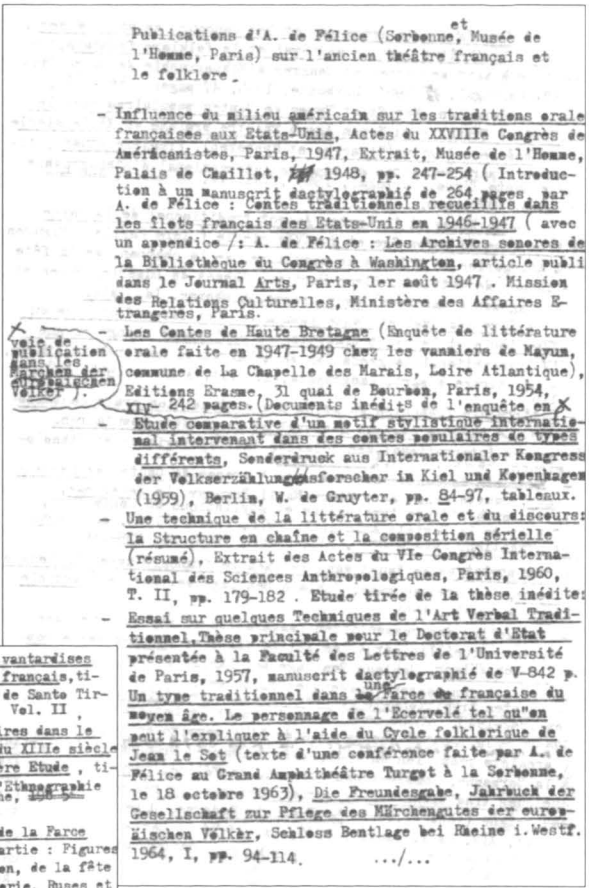
11. & 12. Obverse and reverse of Ariane De Félice's list of published works submitted (for her membership file) on April 1969.



Publications d'A. de Félice (Serbonne, et Musée de l'Homme, Paris) sur l'ancien théâtre français et le folklore.

- Influence du milieu américain sur les traditions orale françaises aux Etats-Unis, Actes du XXVIIIe Congrès de Américanistes, Paris, 1947, Extrait, Musée de l'Homme, Palais de Chaillot, 1948, pp. 247-254 (Introduction à un manuscrit dactylographié de 264 pages, par A. de Félice : Contes traditionnels recueillis dans les flets français des Etats-Unis en 1946-1947 (avec un appendice /: A. de Félice : Les Archives sonores de la Bibliothèque du Congrès à Washington, article publi dans le Journal Arts, Paris, 1er août 1947 . Mission des Relations Culturelles, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.
- Les Contes de Haute Bretagne (Enquête de littérature orale faite en 1947-1949 chez les vanniers de Mayun, commune de La Chapelle des Marais, Loire Atlantique), Editions Erasme, 31 quai de Bourbon, Paris, 1954, XIV- 242 pages. (Documents inédits de l'enquête en
- Etude comparative d'un motif stylistique internatio-nal intervenant dans des contes populaires de types différents, Sonderdruck aus Internationaler Kongress der Volkserzählungsforscher in Kiel und Kopenhagen (1959), Berlin, W. de Gruyter, pp. 84-97, tableaux.
- Une technique de la littérature orale et du discours: la Structure en chaîne et la composition sérielle (résumé), Extrait des Actes du VIe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques, Paris, 1960, T. II, pp. 179-182 . Etude tirée de la thèse inédite:
- Essai sur quelques Techniques de l'Art Verbal Traditionnel, Thèse principale pour le Doctorat d'Etat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 1957, manuscrit dactylographié de V-842 p. Un type traditionnel dans la Farce française du moyen âge. Le personnage de l'Ecervelé tel qu'on peut l'expliquer à l'aide du Cycle folklorique de Jean le Set (texte d'une conférence faite par A. de Félice au Grand Amphithéâtre Turgot à la Sorbonne, le 18 octobre 1963), Die Freundesgabe, Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft zur Pflege des Märchengutes der europäischen Völker, Schloss Bentlage bei Rheine i.Westf. 1964, I, pp. 94-114. .../...

voie de publication dans les Märchen der europäischen Völker).

- Les Jeutes de mensonges et les concours de vantardises dans le théâtre comique médiéval et le folklore français, tirage à part des Actes du Congrès d'Ethnographie de Santo Tirso, Portugal, 1963, Lisbonne, 1965, 47 pages. Vol. II ,
- Formules, Motifs et Types de Contes populaires dans le Théâtre Français du Moyen Age (Théâtre profane du XIIIe siècle
- Théâtre religieux(Miracles et Mystères). Première Etude , tirage à part des Actes du Congrès International d'Ethnographie de Santo Tirso, Portugal, 1963 , Vol. VI, Lisbonne, 1965, 107 pages.
- La Farce et le Conte. Aspect traditionnel de la Farce française du moyen âge et du XVIe siècle (Ière Partie : Figures et Allégories de l'imagerie populaire, de la chanson, de la fête - Thèmes de Sottises. IIème Partie : Thèmes de Duperie. Ruses et Stratagèmes d'Amoureux) sous presse, Lisbonne, Id. ibid.
- Théâtre Médiéval et Conte populaire. Une farce française du XVe siècle et le récit traditionnel de l'Homme changé en Ane IV International Congress for Folk-Narrative Research in Athens 1964, tirage à part, Laographia, T. XXII, Athènes,1965, pp.109-116.
- Littérature française du moyen âge et tradition orale contemporaine. Le théâtre comique médiéval et les contes populaires. Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Moscou, 1964, sous presse)
- Bilingue de Contes de Mensonges A propos de Contes de Mensonges, compte-rendu de : Pterv Naili Beratav, Le Tekerleme, Contribution à l'étude typologique et stylistique du Conte turc, Cahier de la Société Asiatique, XVII, Paris , 1963, dans Arts et Traditions Populaires , XII, Paris, 1964, pp. 239-246.
- Un prototype de Faust dans le Théâtre français après la Renaissance, Die Freundesgabe, Schloss Bentlage bei Rheine (article sous presse) , 1966.
- Rédaction des commentaires comparatifs et stylistiques des contes recueillis par A. de Félice dans les Märchen der europäischen Völker, Schloss Bentlage bei Rheine de 1961 à 1968 1969 notamment des contes vendéens extraits de :
- Contes traditionnels recueillis dans une région du Bas-Poitou en 1942-1943, Thèse complémentaire(pour le Doctorat d'Etat) présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 1957 (première rédaction en 1945, Voir : Charles Bruneau, professeur à la Sorbonne, Compte-rendu sur : A. de Félice, Enquêtes sur quelques traditions orales recueillies dans la région de Mensi- reigne (Vendée), dans Le Français Moderne, Directeur Albert Dauzat, XIV, No 1, Janvier 1946, pp. 73-74 (Cette thèse de l'Ecole du Louvre était dirigée par M. Ch. Bruneau et Arnold Van Gennep).

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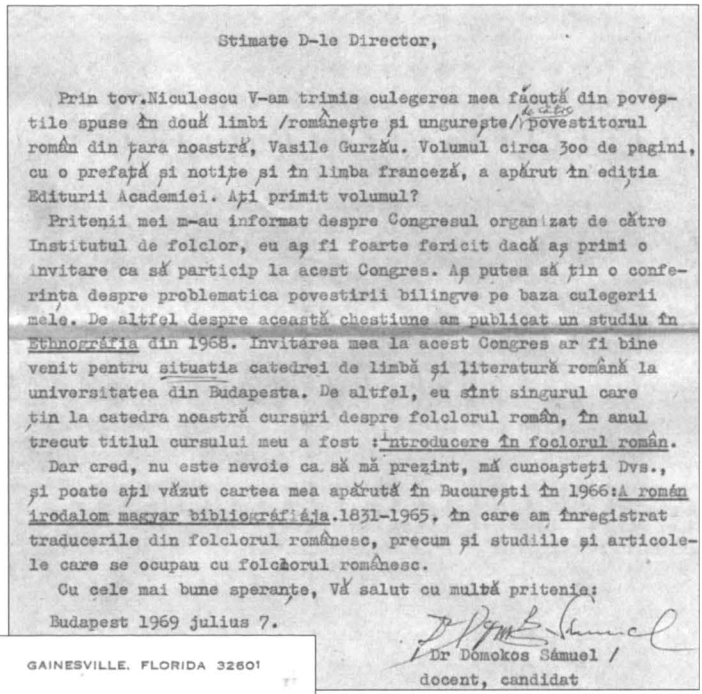
13. As a Hungarian from Transylvania and a Romanian language, literature and folklore at the University of Budapest, Domokos Sámuel addresses himself to Mihai Pop in Romanian. In this unique letter sent in Romanian, the sender asks whether his book with bilingual stories had arrived, and request a personal invitation for the Congress. Then he also mentions a book he published in Romania, and the hope his articles on Romanian folklore are known. Yet, the Hungarian colleague will neither appear in the congress Program (too late contacting?), and probably nor during the Congress itself in Bucharest.



Stimate D-le Director,

Prin tov.Niculescu V-am trimis culegerea mea făcută din poveștile spuse în două limbi /românește și ungurește/ povestitorul român din țara noastră, Vasile Gurzău. Volumul circa 300 de pagini, cu o prefață și notițe și în limba franceză, a apărut în ediția Editurii Academiei. Ați primit volumul?

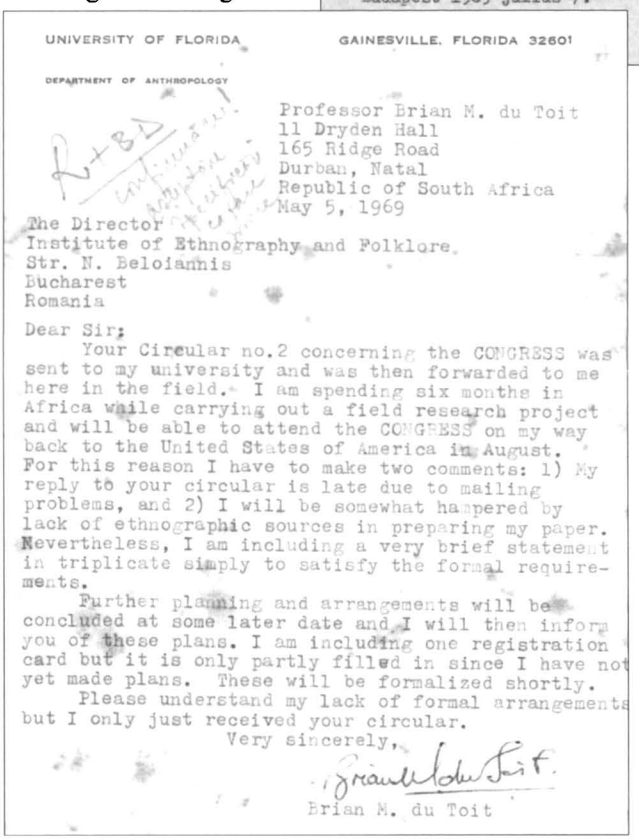
Prietenii mei m-au informat despre Congresul organizat de către Institutul de folclor, eu aș fi foarte fericit dacă aș primi o invitare ca să particip la acest Congres. Aș putea să țin o conferința despre problematica povestirii bilingve pe baza culegerii mele. De altfel despre această chestiune am publicat un studiu în Ethnográfia din 1968. Invitarea mea la acest Congres ar fi bine venit pentru situația catedrei de limbă și literatură română la universitatea din Budapesta. De altfel, eu sînt singurul care țin la catedra noastră cursuri despre folclorul român, în anul trecut titlul cursului meu a fost : Introducere în folclorul român.

Dar cred, nu este nevoie ca să mă prezint, mă cunoașteți Dvs., și poate ați văzut cartea mea apărută în București în 1966: A román irodalom magyar bibliográfiája.1831-1965, în care am înregistrat traducerile din folclorul românesc, precum și studiile și articolele care se ocupau cu folclorul românesc.

Cu cele mai bune speranțe, Vă salut cu multă prietenia:

Budapest 1969 julius 7.

Dr Domokos Sámuel /
docent, candidat



UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32601

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

R+BD

Professor Brian M. du Toit
11 Dryden Hall
165 Ridge Road
Durban, Natal
Republic of South Africa
May 5, 1969

The Director
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore
Str. N. Beloiannis
Bucharest
Romania

Dear Sir;

Your Circular no.2 concerning the CONGRESS was sent to my university and was then forwarded to me here in the field. I am spending six months in Africa while carrying out a field research project and will be able to attend the CONGRESS on my way back to the United States of America in August. For this reason I have to make two comments: 1) My reply to your circular is late due to mailing problems, and 2) I will be somewhat hampered by lack of ethnographic sources in preparing my paper. Nevertheless, I am including a very brief statement in triplicate simply to satisfy the formal requirements.

Further planning and arrangements will be concluded at some later date and I will then inform you of these plans. I am including one registration card but it is only partly filled in since I have not yet made plans. These will be formalized shortly.

Please understand my lack of formal arrangements but I only just received your circular.

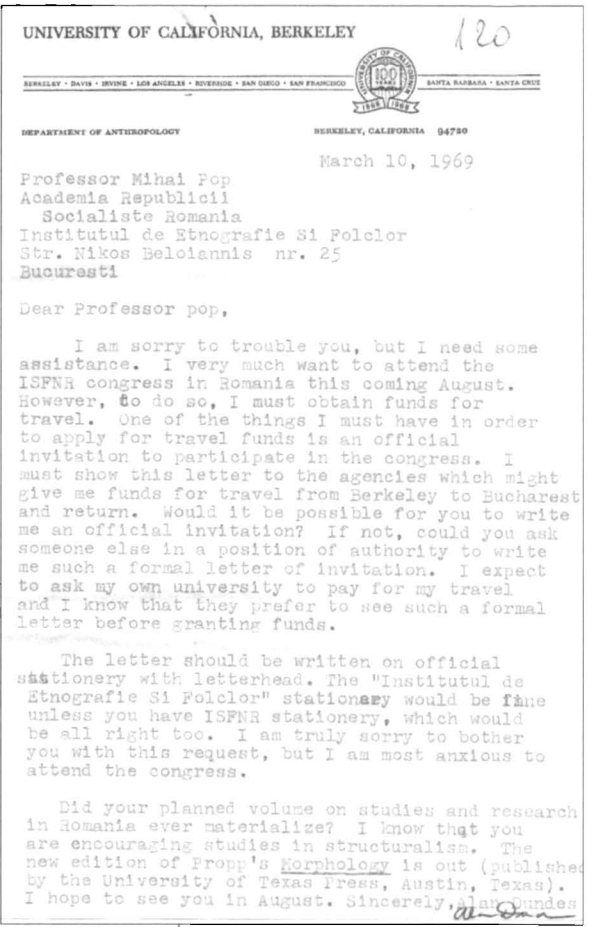
Very sincerely,

Brian M. du Toit

14. Prof. Brian M. du Toit, from Gainesville, is doing fieldwork in his native South-Africa, where the congress invite is rerouted. Fearing delays, he insists on administrative issues. As M. Pop does too, adding for his helpers the note "R (= answer/reply to be sent) + BD (=sort of specific "bulletin") / (we) confirm/ wait for specifications/ boarding/ arrival". Du Toit's paper and photos are hosted in the present, 2023 REF/JEF volume.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

15. Alan Dundes's letter proves that he met Pop before (surely when the later visited Berkeley, in 1965), and insists now only on the administrative detail of being sent a very official invitation (institutional logo/letterhead on typical stationery) for securing his travel finance. He mentions Pop's interest in structuralism, and Propp's *Morphology* as being recently released in the USA. Nothing announces their intense cooperation in 1975, within Dundes's department in Berkeley.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

120

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

March 10, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Academia Republicii
Socialiste Romania
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
Bucuresti

Dear Professor pop,

I am sorry to trouble you, but I need some assistance. I very much want to attend the ISFNR congress in Romania this coming August. However, to do so, I must obtain funds for travel. One of the things I must have in order to apply for travel funds is an official invitation to participate in the congress. I must show this letter to the agencies which might give me funds for travel from Berkeley to Bucharest and return. Would it be possible for you to write me an official invitation? If not, could you ask someone else in a position of authority to write me such a formal letter of invitation. I expect to ask my own university to pay for my travel and I know that they prefer to see such a formal letter before granting funds.

The letter should be written on official stationery with letterhead. The "Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor" stationery would be fine unless you have ISFNR stationery, which would be all right too. I am truly sorry to bother you with this request, but I am most anxious to attend the congress.

Did your planned volume on studies and research in Romania ever materialize? I know that you are encouraging studies in structuralism. The new edition of Propp's Morphology is out (published by the University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas). I hope to see you in August. Sincerely, Alan Dundes

120 3rd

Prof. Alan Dundes
Dept. of Anthropology
University of California
BERKELEY, Cal. 94720

Dear Friend,

Enclosed you have the official letter you asked for and hope that it will suffice to ensure your coming here. I hope that you have already got the official invitation from the State Committee for Culture, and Art, our Ministry of Culture, to participate in the First International Folklore Festival, which will be held in the same time with our Congress. This Festival will be joined with a Symposium having as theme: "The Folklore in the Contemporary World", where we do hope that you will give your precious contribution by reading a paper.

If you believe that I could help you with any more officia l steps I will do it with plessure, but I hope that you will not need it.

The planned volume of studies is prepared, but the things are not developping as we whould like. We are publishing, in exchenge, also a Romanian translation of Propp's "Molphology" and a very interesting translation of Lotman's on Struturalist Researches of Literature.

Your name is always quoted in our specialists' circles and a big number of men, expecially the young ones, will be so glad to meet you in Bucharest and not in the least I too.

Sincerely Yours,

Prof. Mihai Pop

16. Pop's answer (3rd April 1969) is friendlier. His mentions imply that he also recommended Dundes to be invited to the International Folklore Festivals (held in Bucharest in the same time period as the ISFNR congress), which also includes a Symposium. Of which also other colleagues are noticed (as that was devoted to *The Folklore in the Contemporary World*). Academic infos are briefed, and Dundes is encouraged to come to Bucharest by the hint that he might already be popular among all the local researchers and students.

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17. This long confession is important mostly by the fact that it marks the Dundes' interest in the contemporary urban folklore – a theme which will strongly mark his influence, fame and career in the years to come. Curiously, the Bucharestan ISFNR meeting will also be the first congress Alan Dundes ever attended. Which, as we can see here, meant a lot for his both emotional and scholarly biography.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

May 1, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Academia Republicii Socialiste Romania
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
Bucuresti, Rumania

Dear Professor Pop,

Thank you so much for sending me the 'official' letters of invitation to come to the Bucharest congress. They helped me very much--at least up to a certain point. My university has agreed to pay one half of my air fare from San Francisco to Bucharest and return. That is a big help, but I must now find the other half of my travel expenses. I have written letters to several foundations here in the United States in an attempt to obtain the necessary additional funds. I am most anxious to attend and I do hope that I will be able to do so. I should know in a few weeks definitely as to whether or not I will be able to attend. For the moment, I am planning on attending.

If I do come, I will probably not arrive in Bucharest until late in the day on August 26th. This is because of various flight schedules. I therefore would hope that my paper on "The Laws of Folk Narrative" would not be scheduled on the first day of the congress. I don't know if you are in charge of the schedule of papers or not. But if you are, I would appreciate being put late rather than early.

As for your kind invitation to participate in the Symposium concerned with "Folklore in the Contemporary World," I shall be happy to do so if I come. I wondered only about the scheduling of the symposium. When exactly (on what dates) will this take place? Will it be during the congress (August 26th-31st) or AFTER the congress (Sept. 1st to 4th). I plan to stay for some of the Festival, but I also hope very much to see something of the country. I have no definite plans, but I would like to see more of Rumania than Bucharest. If you wish a paper from me for the Symposium, I would suggest the title: "Folklore in the Modern World". I have become increasingly interested in 'urban folklore' and have begun a bit of research in this area.

I am really very excited about the congress inasmuch as I have never attended one before. I am also excited about the prospect of visiting Rumania and seeing your institute. It will also be a great pleasure to see you and your students. I shall let you know just as soon as I know definitely whether I can come or not. My fingers are crossed (Old superstition for luck, good luck!) Thanks again for your helpful letters.

Sincerely,
Alan Dundes
Professor of Anthropology & Folklore

Prof. Alan Dundes
University of California
BERKELEY

Dear Professor Dundes,

I am so very glad that my letter has been a help. I hope that in the meantime you have already settled the second part also of the travel expenses. We will manage to settle the program in such a manner, that if you can't be here on the 26th August, you could read your paper the very next day in the section where the structure of folk narratives will be read.
Concerning the Symposium on the Folklore in the ContemporaryWorld, and our Congress, they do not coincide. It is true that a Folklore Festival will be held in Bucharest in the same time as the Congres This is a happy coincidence, as I mean, because the participants, after some very wearysome works in the Congress, during the daytime, would be able to see the performances of the Festival where about 20 countries from Europe, Africa and Asia have announced their participation. The Congress, as well as the Festival will close on the 31 August and the Symposium will start after the Congress, that is, as you supposed, from 1 - 4 September. I should undoubtdedly very happy if you could also participate in the Symposium with a paper on the Folklore in the Contemporery World
Looking forward to the pleasure to meet you,

I remain
Yours sincerely

Prof. Mihai Pop

18. As with the previous docs, the reply date (reading "Bucharest, 2nd June") is covered. Complying with the sender's worries and writing style, plus the tone, are all reassuring. The date of the Symposium and the coordination between the three separate events announced occur in many letters.

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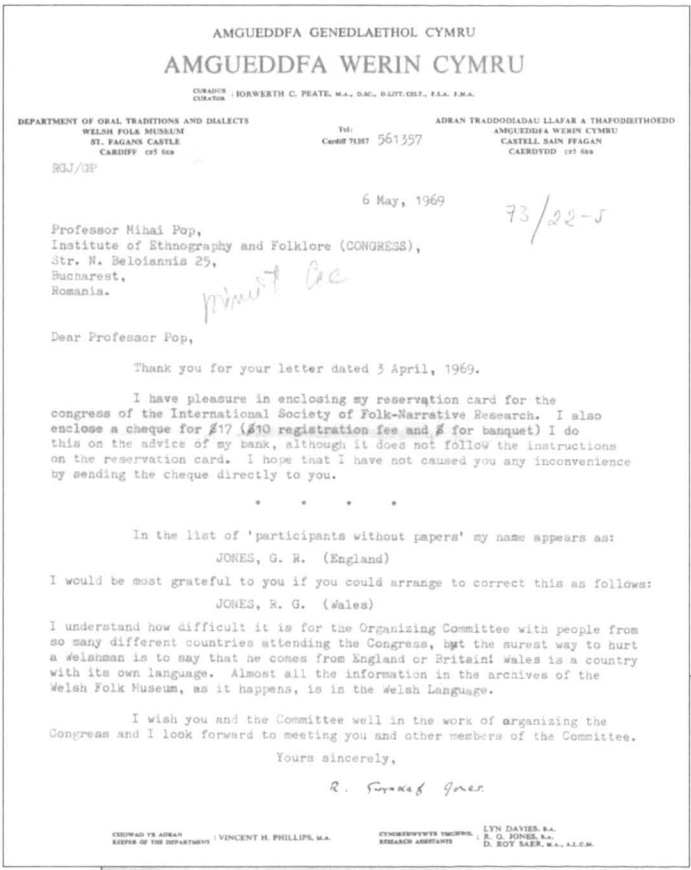

AMGUEDDFA GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU

AMGUEDDFA WERIN CYMRU

CURADUR : IORWERTH C. PEATE, M.A., D.Sc., D.Litt.Celt., F.S.A., F.M.A.

DEPARTMENT OF ORAL TRADITIONS AND DIALECTS
WELSH FOLK MUSEUM
ST. FAGANS CASTLE
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Tel: Cardiff 71357 561357

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AMGUEDDFA WERIN CYMRU
CASTELL SAIN FFAGAN
CAERDYDD CF5 6XB

RGJ/GP

6 May, 1969

73/22-5

Professor Mihai Pop,
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (CONGRESS),
Str. N. Beloiannis 25,
Bucharest,
Romania.

Must Go

Dear Professor Pop,

Thank you for your letter dated 3 April, 1969.

I have pleasure in enclosing my reservation card for the congress of the International Society of Folk-Narrative Research. I also enclose a cheque for £17 (£10 registration fee and £ for banquet) I do this on the advice of my bank, although it does not follow the instructions on the reservation card. I hope that I have not caused you any inconvenience by sending the cheque directly to you.

. . . .

In the list of 'participants without papers' my name appears as:

JONES, G. R. (England)

I would be most grateful to you if you could arrange to correct this as follows:

JONES, R. G. (Wales)

I understand how difficult it is for the Organizing Committee with people from so many different countries attending the Congress, but the surest way to hurt a Welshman is to say that he comes from England or Britain! Wales is a country with its own language. Almost all the information in the archives of the Welsh Folk Museum, as it happens, is in the Welsh Language.

I wish you and the Committee well in the work of organizing the Congress and I look forward to meeting you and other members of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,

R. Gwyndaf Jones

CEIDWAD YR ADRAN / KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT : VINCENT H. PHILLIPS, M.A.

CYNORTHWYWYR YMCHWIL / RESEARCH ASSISTANTS : LYN DAVIES, B.A.
R. G. JONES, B.A.
D. ROY SAER, M.A., A.L.C.M.

19. & 20. Together with its reply bellow, this mini-exchange shares a particular curio: that of a pride and expectation of a Welshman – speaking on behalf of all his countrymen –, to be noted down and published as belonging to or representing Wales (and not, God forbidden, England). Securing his own grace, the diplomat Mihai Pop puts (this time, like in other delicate situations) the Organizing Committee to apologize and answer the fellow with healthy, witty humor.

Bucharest, May 24

Mr. R.Gwindaf Jones
Welsh Folk Museum
St.Fagans Castle
CARDIF

Dear Sir,

We have pleasure to confirm receipt of the cheque in the amount of $ 17 and thank you for sending it.

We took note of your desire to correct our mistake. It arose because our post office hes not so wide geographical knowledge. Please to accept our apologies.

Sincerely yours,
The Organizing Committee,

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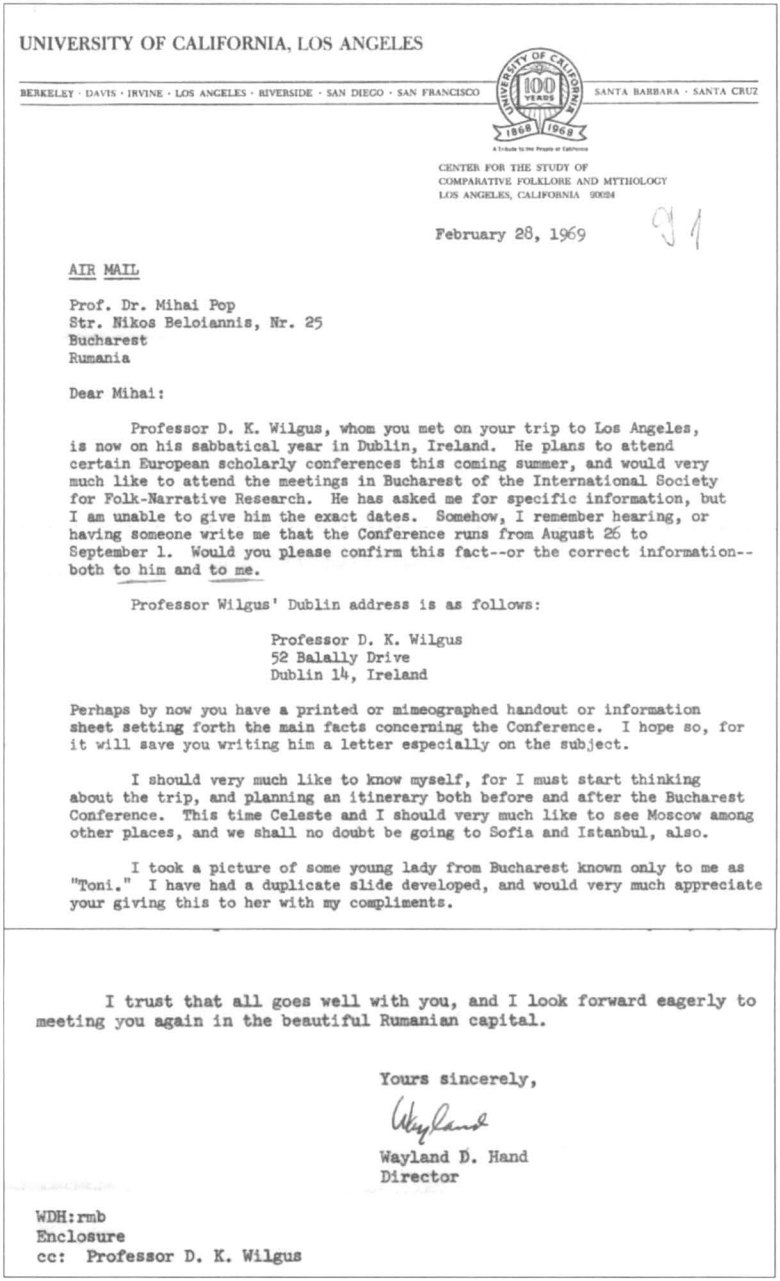

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
COMPARATIVE FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

February 28, 1969

AIR MAIL

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Str. Nikos Beloiannis, Nr. 25
Bucharest
Rumania

Dear Mihai:

Professor D. K. Wilgus, whom you met on your trip to Los Angeles, is now on his sabbatical year in Dublin, Ireland. He plans to attend certain European scholarly conferences this coming summer, and would very much like to attend the meetings in Bucharest of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research. He has asked me for specific information, but I am unable to give him the exact dates. Somehow, I remember hearing, or having someone write me that the Conference runs from August 26 to September 1. Would you please confirm this fact--or the correct information--both to him and to me.

Professor Wilgus' Dublin address is as follows:

Professor D. K. Wilgus
52 Balally Drive
Dublin 14, Ireland

Perhaps by now you have a printed or mimeographed handout or information sheet setting forth the main facts concerning the Conference. I hope so, for it will save you writing him a letter especially on the subject.

I should very much like to know myself, for I must start thinking about the trip, and planning an itinerary both before and after the Bucharest Conference. This time Celeste and I should very much like to see Moscow among other places, and we shall no doubt be going to Sofia and Istanbul, also.

I took a picture of some young lady from Bucharest known only to me as "Toni." I have had a duplicate slide developed, and would very much appreciate your giving this to her with my compliments.

I trust that all goes well with you, and I look forward eagerly to meeting you again in the beautiful Rumanian capital.

Yours sincerely,

Wayland D. Hand
Director

WDH:rmb
Enclosure
cc: Professor D. K. Wilgus

21a. & 21b. Collage of the obverse and reverse of the same sheet of paper. Entering straight into the subject, this letter demonstrates a close relationship and solid writing correspondence between Wayland D. Hand and Mihai Pop. The LA prof. D.K. Wilgus will travel from Ireland to Romania, and his quiet presence during the ISFNR congress was documented by several photos (REF/JEF 1-2/ 2026).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

22. & 23. On the letter bellow Mihai Pop writes for his secretaries and assistants "to be thanked for his contribution to the good organization of the exhibition". It was about informing and inviting the biggest (mostly University) Publishing Houses in the USA to bring their books into Romania and exhibit them during the Congress. As seen in Hand's letter, he was very efficient in this respect; as seen in photos (REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 253, 1-2/2021: 293, 1-2/2024) the international book-stands were rich & impressive.

27th March 1969

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Director Wayland D.Hand
Center for the Study of Comparative
Folklore and Mythology
LOS ANGELES, Cal.90024

Dear Wayland,

It is always a great pleasure to have one of your letters. I'm so glad to see Mrs Hand and yourself in Bucharest.

Of course, I have already sent an invitation to Professor Wilgus in Dublin and we expect him also to attend the works of the Congress.

In a very short time we will send (at last!) the second circular containing full details about this big event, so that you'll be able to set definitely your program for this summer.

Until our next meeting, please to remind me to Mrs. Hand.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Mihai Pop

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COMPARATIVE FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

June 16, 1969

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop, Chairman
International Society for Folk-
Narrative Research
Str. Nikos Beloiannis, Nr. 25
Bucharest, Rumania

Dear Mihai:

I have circularized about 40 publishing houses in the United States, mainly university presses, that publish books in the general field of folklore, mythology, folk song and balladry, and the folk arts, urging them to send books to Bucharest for exhibit. You will find two complete onionskins, and then simply addresses of the other presses solicited.

Look over this list, and if there are any important publishing houses which I have missed (in the United States), that bring out books in the above-named fields, please send the names of these presses to me, and I shall send out additional form letters. I take it that Richard Dorson will ask the University of Chicago Press and the Indiana University Press to send books, but if he does not do so, I shall take it upon myself to write them.

I trust that all goes well with you.

Yours sincerely,

Wayland

Wayland D. Hand
Director

WDH:bg
Enclosure

P.S.: Enclosed please find the brief digest of the paper by Degh and Hand.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Bucharest, June 27

Prof. Wayland D.Hand
Center for the Study of Comparative
Folklore and Mythology
LOS ANGELES

Dear Wayland,

I have just receives your letter of June 16 together with the 40 onion skins of your circular to the Publishing Houses. It means a big help for the success of our Congress and I am most grateful for the aid you lend us in this matter. As for the Congress, everything runs just fine.

Looking forward to meet you, I am

Yours faithfully,

Prof.Mihai Pop

24. This document answers Pop's above translated command, but it rather looks as if the text would flow directly from his own good humored mind and dictating or typing hand.

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UCSCU SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

ER FOR THE STUDY OF
PARATIVE FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY
NGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

June 24, 1969

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Chairman, International Society
for Folk-Narrative Research
Str. Nikos Beloiannis, Nr. 25
Bucharest, Rumania

Dear Mihai:

One of my colleagues here on the West Coast, Prof. J. Barre Toelken, having heard of the big international conference to be held in Bucharest, August 26-September 1, has expressed some interest in attending as an observer.

He is not yet a member of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research but would be prepared to join at once and to participate in the activities of the Society. In order for him to obtain partial travel expenses to the Conference, he would need an official invitation from you. Since he is not going to read a paper, the best way to invite him would be to say something like the following:

"Dear Professor Toelken: I have the pleasure of inviting you to the Third Quinquennial Meeting of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, which is to be held in Bucharest, August 26-September 1, 1969. Concurrent with the Conference and for at least a full week thereafter, there will be an International Folk Festival, drawing people from all over the world.

"I should imagine that these Conferences will be very useful to you in your role as a leader of folklore studies in the Northwest part of the United States, as well as in your official capacity as editor of Northwest Folklore. We shall look forward eagerly to having you with us.

Yours sincerely,

[signature]

25a. On W.D. Hand's advice/recomendation, J.B. Toelken will be invited (as requested by Pop himself in the handwritten note on the paper edge), and will be present in Bucharest (as seen in pics of REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 224, 1-2/2026).

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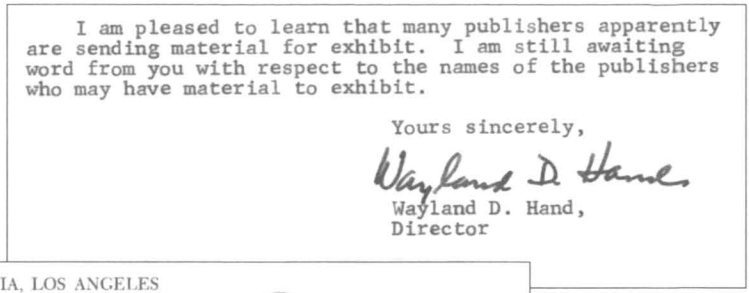


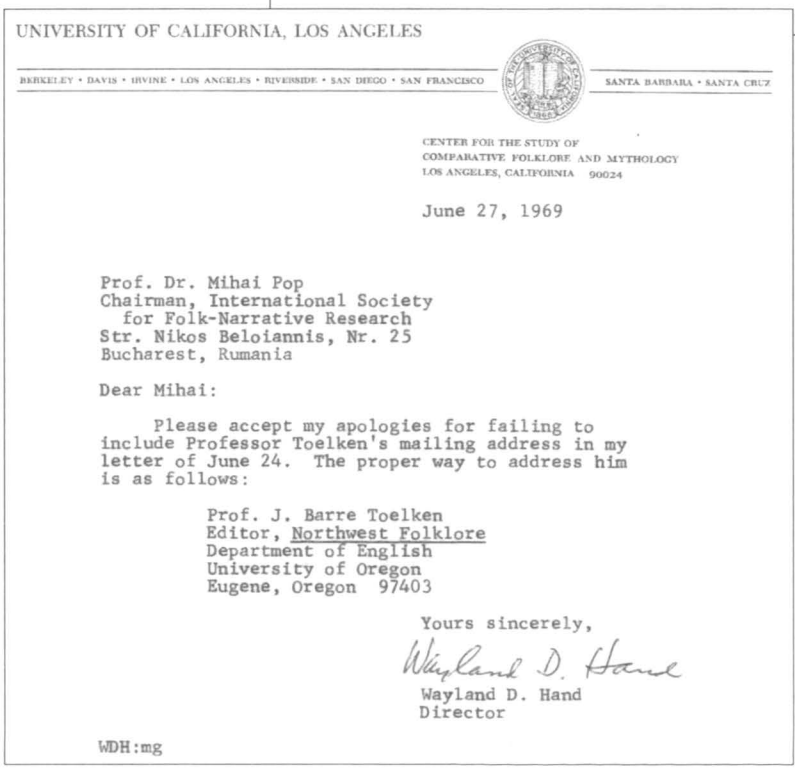
I am pleased to learn that many publishers apparently are sending material for exhibit. I am still awaiting word from you with respect to the names of the publishers who may have material to exhibit.

Yours sincerely,

Wayland D. Hand

Wayland D. Hand,
Director

25b. Reverse ending of the letter above.



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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
COMPARATIVE FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

June 27, 1969

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Chairman, International Society
for Folk-Narrative Research
Str. Nikos Beloiannis, Nr. 25
Bucharest, Rumania

Dear Mihai:

Please accept my apologies for failing to include Professor Toelken's mailing address in my letter of June 24. The proper way to address him is as follows:

Prof. J. Barre Toelken
Editor, Northwest Folklore
Department of English
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

Yours sincerely,

Wayland D. Hand

Wayland D. Hand
Director

WDH:mg

26. A pedant rebound and completion of the previous message. This concludes the W.D. Hand letters possessed by the Archive of the Brăiloiu Institute in Bucharest. The following bunch (docs 27-30) is an external addition, obtained by the kind searching effort and trasfer, as well as permission mediating, of custodian Jennifer Duncan, from Logan, Utah. Contacted in view of confirming the identity of W.D. Hand in the Congress pictures I worked with, and in order to clarify the involvement of Hand's collaborator, Linda Dégh, she kindly supplied the next set of 4 letters. They belong to the fund called „Wayland D. Hand Folklore Papers, 1938-1986 (COLL MSS 297)", kept in the Special Collections and Archives Department of the Utah State University.*

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July 30, 1969

Prof. Linda Degh
The Folklore Institute
714 East 8th Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Linda:

It has been over a month since I wrote you requesting that you send me the paper you gave at the recent Legend Conference.

Since I plan to leave for Europe on the 16th of August, I should like very much to receive your paper before that date.

Yours sincerely,

Wayland D. Hand
Director

WDH:mg

27. & 28. A quick exchange before W.D. Hand's take off for Bucharest and Budapest. (A book of Linda Dégh was supposed to go with Hand to Bucharest, to find Mihai Pop, and it will arrive there in time, but – as seen in the last letter – not directly by Hand's hands).

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Folklore Institute
714 East Eighth Street
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

August 13,1969

Journal of the Folklore Institute
Folklore Monograph Series
Folklore Archives

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO. 337-5864

Dear Wayland:

I hope everything is okay with our paper.If the main ideas are expressed there will be no problem and we can always fit in examples and data for in the more extensive published version.

One modest request: Could you pick up a copy of the papers? It will take a long time until the congress vol. will be out and I would like to use the new ideas for my folktale course.I hope an extra set will be no problem to get.

Have a good trip! I am so homesick after Europe that I could cry. Tell everyone,I will be coming next summer.I would like to do research in Austria and visit all archives I haven,t seen yet.

I will write a letter to Pop which I hope he will read to the public. I regret I cannot be with all those who mean to me so much but they will understand.

Yours,as ever

Linda

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29. The post-Congress postal correspondence solves the enigmas of Dégh's absence from Bucharest, the Hand's solo presentation of their common paper, and his individual extension – the drawing on blackboard (seen only in the picture of REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 183, and not also found in the printed paper of the same volume, p. 209-229).

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Folklore Institute
714 East Eighth Street
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

Journal of the Folklore Institute
Folklore Monograph Series
Folklore Archives

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO. 337-3844

Dear Wayland,

I hope you had a good time in Bucharest and I am itching to hear all the news! Sorry I didn't know about your trip to Budapest, I would have helped you with finding people!

Here is the finished paper of my contribution to the Legend-conference. I hope the resume will be out before long.

I don't know what happened to the book for Pop. Andrew's office sent it to you 6 weeks before you left.

Yours,
Linda

October 13, 1969

Professor Linda Dégh
The Folklore Institute
Indiana University
714 East 8th Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Linda:

Thanks very much for sending the paper you gave at our Conference on American Folk Legend in June. I have not looked at it, but I assume that it is as good as the talk which I well remember.

First of all, the book for Pop did not arrive before I left, but came a day or so afterward. My Secretary immediately dispatched it to Mihai, by air mail, and he did receive the book before I left Bucharest.

The paper which I delivered for us went over very well. Many people complimented me on it, and there was a lively discussion following the presentation. There is something in this connection I should like to tell you about. I had drawn a sort of triangle on the blackboard to show the relationship of belief to legend, on the one hand, and to custom on the other. Not having had time to develop the simpler relationships, I worked on the most difficult ones, namely, the passage of material from legend to custom, but held out the possibility that in some cases the order might have been reversed, i.e., material actually existing as custom eventually passing over into legend. I allowed as to how I thought this might be possible but certainly not the usual direction of transmission. Tekla thereupon stood up and said that she had studied this matter for many years and had talked to the point at the Athens meeting. When questioned, she indicated that from a rather goodly number of total examples collected in Hungary, the direction of transmission was as strong from custom to legend as it is from legend to custom. I somewhat doubted this contention, for I felt sure that if this were the case, and if she were using - as she was - a Hungarian corpus of material, you would certainly have had something to say on the point. I had not bothered to look up her paper in the Proceedings of the Athens conference, but I shall certainly do so if and when I address myself to this subject again.

The Conference was about the same as the other two, with the exception that the older workers had generally departed the scene, with younger and newer people now more or less "taking over." That is the way of life. Mihai was a charming host, and we all were much edified by our visit to Roumania.

30. Apart from all the above mentioned, as well as the very interesting/consistent academic points shared inside, this also certifies Tekla Dömötör's physical presence in the audience (as until the procurement of this letters from the USA library she was not identified with certitude in other Congress photographs – such as those published here before all the letters).

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Prof. Dr. Lauri Honko
Satakielentie 8
Turku 31
Finland

March 22, 1969

To the Organizing Committee of the

Vth International Congress of the International Society
for Folk-Narrative Research

Institutul de etnografie și folclor (Congres)
str. N. Beloiannis No. 25
Bucharest
Romania

Gentlemen,

For a while it seemed to me impossible to participate your congress, because another congress to be held in Finland in August was too close to it. Now, however, I have reconsidered the schedule and would like to come to Bucharest on August 26–31 and deliver a short paper (20 minutes?) entitled On the Principles of Genre Analysis. I hope you can find a spot for my paper in the program. I also hope that you would kindly inform me, if this belated announcement of my participation has been accepted. If there are any formalities or regulations, for example, an advance delivery of the text of my paper, please notify me.

I look forward to seeing many of my colleagues at this main gathering of folklorists from all parts of the world.

Sincerely yours

Lauri Honko

Lauri Honko
Professor of Folklore and Comparative Religion at the University of Turku,
Finland

P.S. By separate mail I am sending the provisional Inscription Bulletin forwarded to me last September.

31. & 32. Lauri Honko did get printed in the Program and the list of participants, his presence was visually documented (REF/JEF 1-2/ 2016: 232, and the present, 2023 volume), his facsimile-like text was eventually published (REF/JEF 1-2/ 2016: 224-232).

28th March 1969

Professor Lauri Honko
Satakielentie 8
TURKU 31

Dear Professor,

We have indeed received your application form and have noted your wish to participate in the Congress, delivering also a short paper. You'll soon receive the second circular which will answer to all the questions you put in your letter, i.e. the length of the paper, when we expect to have the summary, the booking of rooms, excursions, etc.

As your application came later, your name will not be included in the list which was already established, but of course you can deliver your speech.

Looking forward to meet you soon,

I remain

Sincerely yours,

Prof. Mihai Pop

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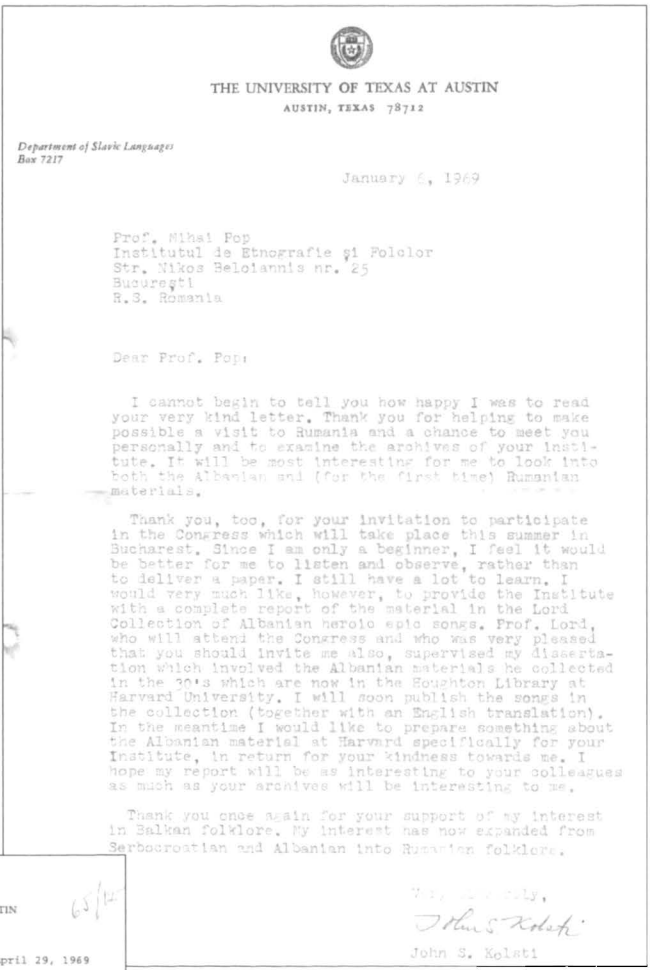
33. The young assistant professor John S. Kolsty talks here about enthusiastic collaboration, and exchange of infos and fieldwork materials (pertaining to Balkan, namely Albanian and Serbo-Croatian folklore) between Harvard and the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest.



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

Department of Slavic Languages
Box 7217

January 6, 1969

Prof. Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie şi Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
Bucureşti
R.S. Romania

Dear Prof. Pop:

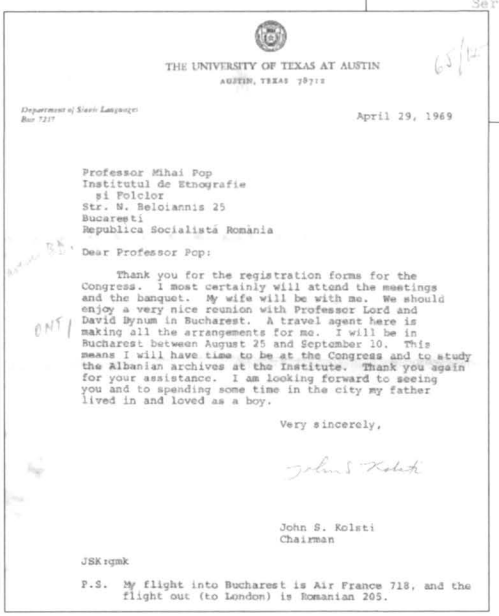
I cannot begin to tell you how happy I was to read your very kind letter. Thank you for helping to make possible a visit to Rumania and a chance to meet you personally and to examine the archives of your institute. It will be most interesting for me to look into both the Albanian and (for the first time) Rumanian materials.

Thank you, too, for your invitation to participate in the Congress which will take place this summer in Bucharest. Since I am only a beginner, I feel it would be better for me to listen and observe, rather than to deliver a paper. I still have a lot to learn. I would very much like, however, to provide the Institute with a complete report of the material in the Lord Collection of Albanian heroic epic songs. Prof. Lord, who will attend the Congress and who was very pleased that you should invite me also, supervised my dissertation which involved the Albanian materials he collected in the 30's which are now in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. I will soon publish the songs in the collection (together with an English translation). In the meantime I would like to prepare something about the Albanian material at Harvard specifically for your Institute, in return for your kindness towards me. I hope my report will be as interesting to your colleagues as much as your archives will be interesting to me.

Thank you once again for your support of my interest in Balkan folklore. My interest has now expanded from Serbocroatian and Albanian into Rumanian folklore.

Yours sincerely,

John S. Kolsti



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

Department of Slavic Languages
Box 7217

April 29, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie
şi Folclor
Str. N. Beloiannis 25
Bucureşti
Republica Socialistă România

Dear Professor Pop:

Thank you for the registration forms for the Congress. I most certainly will attend the meetings and the banquet. My wife will be with me. We should enjoy a very nice reunion with Professor Lord and David Bynum in Bucharest. A travel agent here is making all the arrangements for me. I will be in Bucharest between August 25 and September 10. This means I will have time to be at the Congress and to study the Albanian archives at the Institute. Thank you again for your assistance. I am looking forward to seeing you and to spending some time in the city my father lived in and loved as a boy.

Very sincerely,

John S. Kolsti
Chairman

JSK:gmk

P.S. My flight into Bucharest is Air France 718, and the flight out (to London) is Romanian 205.

34. Kolsty's emphasized connection with Albert B. Lord and David Bynum (both going to join and actively contribute the Congress in Bucharest) reveals a specialized professional networking. And that of a biographical/paternal connection with Bucharest strengthens his interest in Romanian folk culture and folkloristics.

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Dr. Prof.
Mihai Pop
directorul Institutului de Etnografie si Folclor
BUCURESTI
Str. Miokos Beloiannis 25

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Kedves Igazgató Ur!

Elnézését kérem, hogy nagy elfoglaltsága közepette szervezési ügyekkel háborgatom. Egyik fiatal kollégám, Hoppál Mihály szeretne augusztusban a Society for Folk-Narrative Research kongresszusán részt venni s engem kért meg, hogy kérjek számára meghivót. Hoppál Diószegi Vilmos mellett dolgozik, néphit kutatással foglalkozik s mint a nemzetközi strukturalista kutatások jó ismerője nagyon szeretne a román strukturalista vizsgálatokkal közelebbről megismerkedni. Miután saját költségen jönne, tájékoztatást kér a részvétel költségeiről is.

A részvételi dij kérdése - azok számára, akik nem hivatalos kiküldetésben vesznek részt a kongresszuson - Diószegi Vilmost is érdekli, sőt engem magamat is, mivel férjem is gondolkozik azon, hogy lejöjjön. Ő viszont az anekdotakutatás kérdései érdekelnék - Jókai anekdotáival foglalkozott - s a modern Bukarest. Valamikor egyetemi hallgató korában járt ott utoljára.

Ugye, nem haragszik, hogy magyarul irtam? Nem felejtettem el románul, csak itt Pesten olyan hamar kijön az ember a gyakorlatból s nem szeretném helyesirási vagy nyelvtani hibákkal bosszantani.

Mindnyájukat a régi barátsággal üdvözli

Budapest 1969. III. 27.

/Kovács Ágnes/

NB Kissé megkésve, de annál nagyobb hálával köszönöm a Folclor Literar c. kötetet, melyet Temesvárról, gondolom, a Professzor Ur utasitására v. javaslatára kaptam

35. Kovács Ágnés (who worked very much on Hungarian and Romanian Transylvanian folklores) addresses herself to Mihai Pop because she knew he was able to speak Hungarian. In his turn, declining his Hungarian orthographic ability, Pop knew Ágnés understood Romanian and wrote her back in his own mother tongue. A typical Pop game of fairness.

4 aprilie 1969

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Drago tovarăşe Agnes,

Mulţumesc pentru scrisoarea Dumitale. Chiar azi am trimis buletinul de inscriere pentru Congresul Cercetătorilor Naraţiunilor Populare colegul Koppel Mihaly şi ne vom bucura dacă vine pentru ca să întăreascâ rîndurile structuraliştilor ce vor participa la acest congres.

Ii vom trimite în scelaşi timp ca şi Dumitale şi colegului Diószegi Vilmos circulara a II-a în legătură cu congresul în care veţi afla toate datele în legătură cu condiţiile materiale de participare. Firesţe, cum veţi vedea, taxe de participare va fi plătită pentru ţările socialiste în ruble schimb, deci cred că în ce priveşte aceasta nu veţi avea nici un fel de dificultăţi. Dolari aveţi şi Dv ca şi noi, puţini.

Te rog şi eu că am scris în româneşti, fiindcă dacă pot să vorbesc în ungureşte, ortografia mea maghiară este infernală şi nu mă hazardez în ea. Dar această corespondenţă bilingvă ne va ajuta pe amîndoi.

Cu cele mai bune sentimente,

Prof. Mihai Pop

36. For securing access to important stuff, the first doc covers Kovács Agnés's postal address. Alas, the orientalist Diószegi Vilmos, recommended by Kovács and then invited here, will not complete the Budapestan delegation that will register and make it to Bucharest. Only the young Hoppál Mihály registered and appeared in the participants list and one photo.

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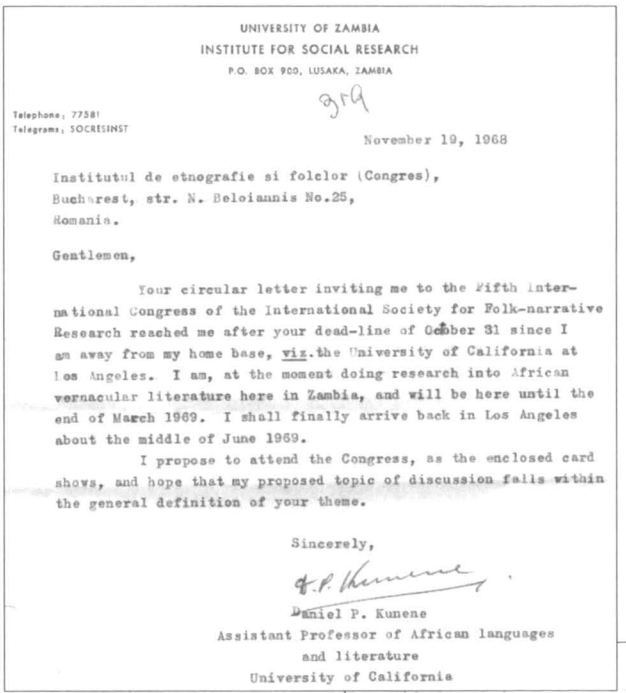


UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
P.O. BOX 900, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

Telephone: 77581
Telegrams: SOCRESINST

November 19, 1968

Institutul de etnografie si folclor (Congres),
Bucharest, str. N. Beloiannis No.25,
Romania.

Gentlemen,

Your circular letter inviting me to the Fifth International Congress of the International Society for Folk-narrative Research reached me after your dead-line of October 31 since I am away from my home base, viz. the University of California at Los Angeles. I am, at the moment doing research into African vernacular literature here in Zambia, and will be here until the end of March 1969. I shall finally arrive back in Los Angeles about the middle of June 1969.

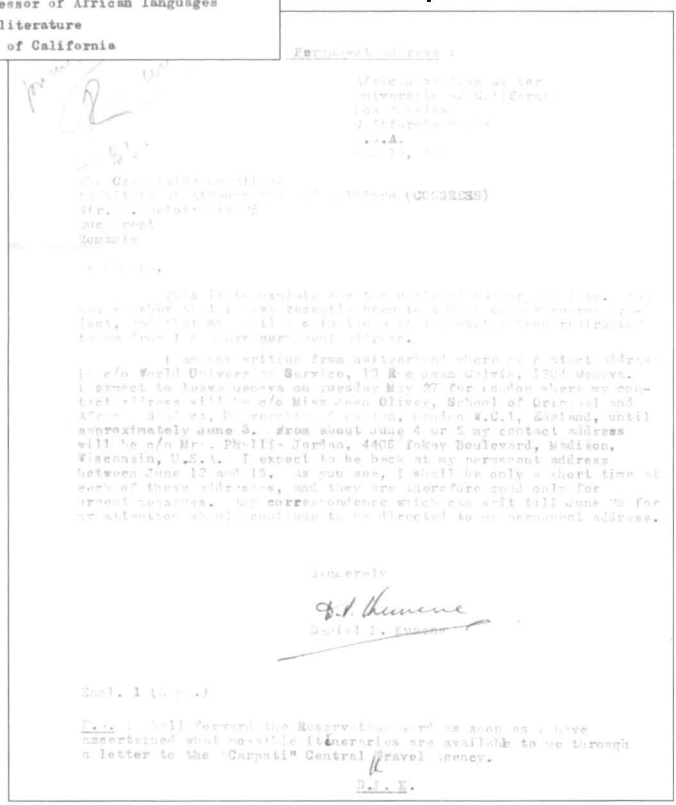
I propose to attend the Congress, as the enclosed card shows, and hope that my proposed topic of discussion falls within the general definition of your theme.

Sincerely,

D. P. Kunene

Daniel P. Kunene
Assistant Professor of African languages
and literature
University of California

37. & **38.** The situation invited people to be away from their work-base is not very rare; yet, in cases like Daniel Pule Kunene's this is overcame by the rapid/ pragmatic actions of infos sharing. Born and educated in South Africa, the Californian professor stamps now the worldmap from Lusaka/Zambia to the European Geneva & London, then to the American Madison & LA. Kunene will be registered and programed to deliver the paper *Metaphor and Symbolism in the Heroic Poetry of Southern Africa*. But there is no certitude or confirmation on his presence with the Congress in '69, as well as no paper was found/left behind.



Dear Sir,

I am now writing from Switzerland where my address is c/o World University Service, 10 Route de Malagnou, 1208 Geneva. I expect to leave Geneva on Tuesday May 27 for London where my contact address will be c/o Miss Joan Oliver, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London W.C.1, England, until approximately June 8. From about June 4 or 5 my contact address will be c/o Mr. Phillip Jordan, 4405 Tokay Boulevard, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A. I expect to be back at my permanent address between June 12 and 15. As you see, I shall be only a short time at each of these addresses, and they are therefore good only for urgent messages. My correspondence which can wait till June 7th for my attention should continue to be directed to my permanent address.

Sincerely

D. P. Kunene

Daniel P. Kunene

Encl. 1 (card)

P.S. I shall forward the Reservation card as soon as I have ascertained what possible itineraries are available to me through a letter to the "Carpati" Central Travel Agency.

D.P.K.

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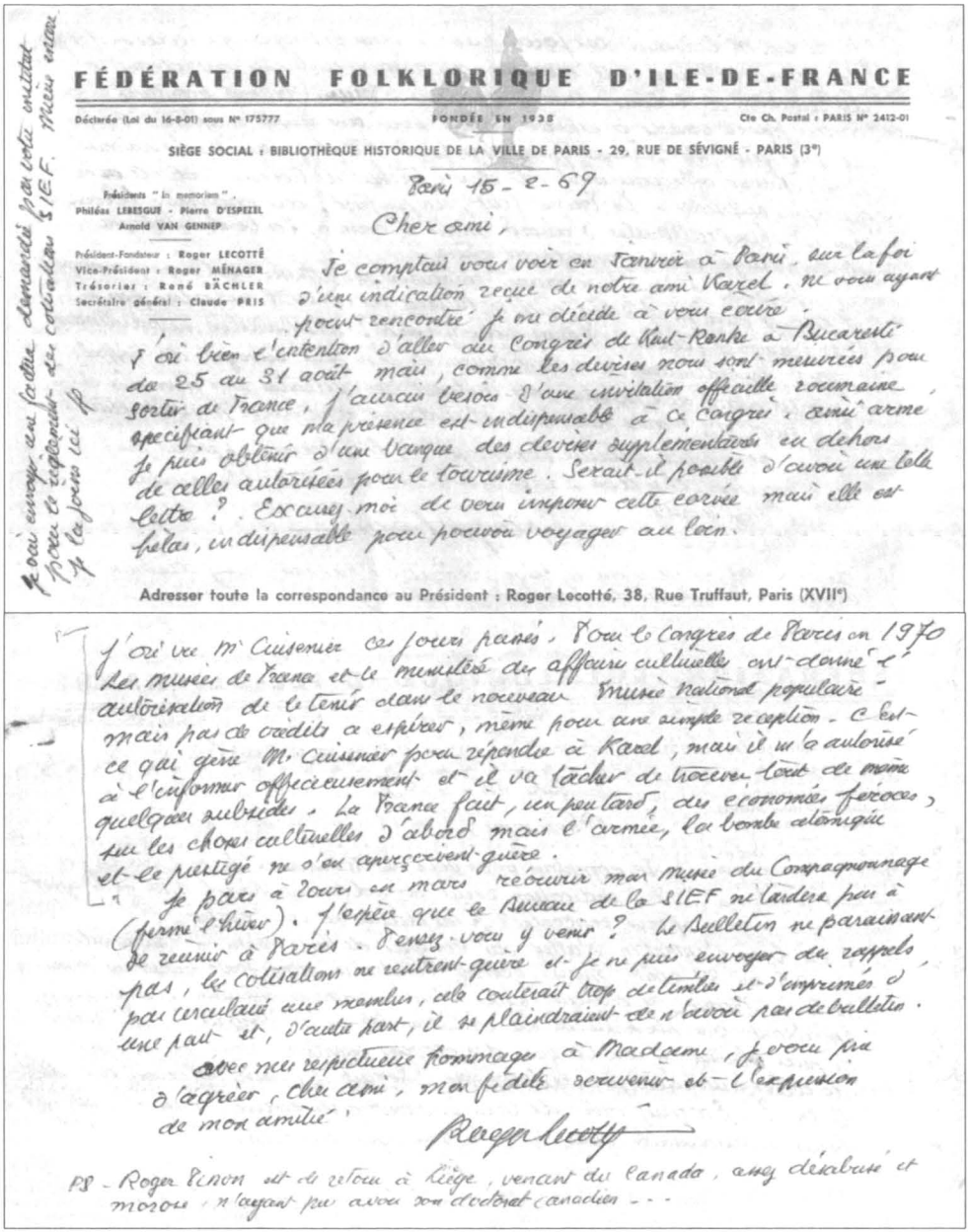

FÉDÉRATION FOLKLORIQUE D'ILE-DE-FRANCE

Déclarée (Loi du 16-8-01) sous N° 175777 — FONDÉE EN 1938 — Cte Ch. Postal : PARIS N° 2412-01

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Arnold VAN GENNEP

Président-Fondateur : Roger LECOTTÉ
Vice-Présidents : Roger MÉNAGER
Trésorier : René BÄCHLER
Secrétaire général : Claude PRIS

Paris 15-2-69

Cher ami,

Je comptais vous voir en janvier à Paris, sur la foi d'une indication reçue de notre ami Kazel, ne vous ayant pas rencontré je me décide à vous écrire.

J'ai bien l'intention d'aller au Congrès de Haut-Rankc à Bucarest du 25 au 31 août mais, comme les devises nous sont mesurées pour sortir de France, j'aurais besoin d'une invitation officielle roumaine, spécifiant que ma présence est indispensable à ce Congrès, ainsi armé je puis obtenir d'une banque des devises supplémentaires en dehors de celles autorisées pour le tourisme. Serait-il possible d'avoir une telle lettre ? Excusez moi de vous imposer cette corvée mais elle est hélas, indispensable pour pouvoir voyager au loin.

Adresser toute la correspondance au Président : Roger Lecotté, 38, Rue Truffaut, Paris (XVII^e)

J'ai vu M. Cuisenier ces jours passés. Pour le Congrès de Varsovie en 1970 les Musées de France et le Ministère des affaires culturelles ont donné l'autorisation de se tenir dans le nouveau Musée national populaire - mais pas de crédits à espérer, même pour une simple réception - c'est ce qui gêne M. Cuisenier pour répondre à Kazel, mais il va l'autoriser à s'informer officieusement et il va tâcher de trouver tout de même quelques subsides. La France fait, ces temps-ci, des économies féroces, sur les choses culturelles d'abord mais l'armée, la bombe atomique et le prestige ne s'en aperçoivent guère.

Je pars à Nice en mars rouvrir mon Musée du Compagnonnage (fermé l'hiver). J'espère que le Bureau de la SIEF ne tardera pas à se réunir à Paris. Pensez-vous y venir ? Le Bulletin ne paraissant pas, les cotisations ne rentrent guère et je ne puis envoyer des rappels par circulaire aux membres, cela coûterait trop de timbres et d'enveloppes d'une part et, d'autre part, il se plaindraient de ne recevoir pas de bulletin.

Avec mes respectueux hommages à Madame, je vous prie d'agréer, cher ami, mon fidèle souvenir et l'expression de mon amitié.

Roger Lecotté

PS - Roger Pinon est de retour à Liège, venant du Canada, assez désabusé et morose, n'ayant pas eu son doctorat canadien - - -

39a. & 39b. Obverse & reverse making one of the documents which prove the righteousness of the choice for publishing documents in their entirety: both objective and subjective aspects could be of interest for various, future analyses, thus making available archival funds can make a better job than just extracting just one or another info temporarily suitable to particular themes of interest (thus neutralizing or hindering further hints or meanings).

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40. Distant or at least neutral, this announcement-letter was rather conceived and sent by the "organizing committee" (just hastily signed by M. Pop). By its left-hand corner it covers just the date – same April 3, 1969.

le 3 Avril 1969

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Mr. Roger Lecotté
38, rue Truffaut
PARIS XVII-e

Cher Collègue,

Comme vous le connaissez déjà par la 1ère Circulaire, il y aura à Bucarest entre le 26-31 Août le V^e Congrès de la Société Internationale pour l'Investigation des Contes Populaires.

A cette occasion il y aura aussi dans la Capitale de notre pays, un Festival International de Folklore, qui se tiendra dorénavant regulièrement tous les trois ans. Ce festival sera couplé à un Symposium scientifique sur le thème: "Le folklore dans le monde contemporain".

Vu votre activité scientifique distinguée, nous vous prions spécialement que vous preniez part au Congrès de la Société Internationale pour les Investigation des Contes Populaires, ainsi qu'au Festival et aux débats du Symposium, qui se dérouleleront pendent ce même temps.

Nous serions heureux si vous puissiez nous confirmer votre participation en nous donnant aussi le titre de votre communication au Symposium.

Prof. Mihai Pop
Directeur

41. The second letter, written and probably sent the same day – a clear proof that, overwhelmed by the correspondence burden, working equally together and in parallel, the organizing committee (alias Al.I. Amzulescu) and Pop himself were superseding, doubling or confusing each other at times. This later text is however much warmer and friendlier in tone then the former, thus it was really written by Mihai Pop himself.

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Mr. Roger Lecotté
38, rue Truffaut
PARIS 17-e

Très cher ami,

Je vous prie d'excuser le fait que je vous réponds aujourd'hui seulement, mais j'ai été absent de Bucarest. J'espère que vous avez déjà reçu l'invitation pour le Festival International de Folklore qui aura lieu à Bucarest à la fin du mois d'Août et qui se tiendra régulièrement tous les trois ans. Un Symposium ayant pour thème: "Le folklore dans le monde contemporain" sera couplé à ce Festival.

Nous serons bien aise si vous pouviez y participer et nous communiquer votre opinion sur ce problème.

Je joins à cette lettre une invitation officielle, qui je l'espère pourra vous aider à surmonter les difficulté valutaires de chez vous qui sont pour le moment, comme je le sais aussi, d'une importance qui n'est pas à négliger.

Je vous remercie pour les bonnes nouvelles que vous me donnez à propos du Congrès de Paris. Je pense que dans cette situation, et même à peu de frais, le Congrès pourra avoir lieu et qu'on pourra tenir en même temps l'Assemblée générale du SIEF aussi. J'ai en outre transmis cette nouvelle à Karel, n'ayant pas encore pris de décision définitive quant à l'Assemblée générale. Mais sur tout ceci on pourra encore discuter à Bucarest.

Agréez, cher ami, l'expression de mon amitié sincère.

Prof. Mihai Pop

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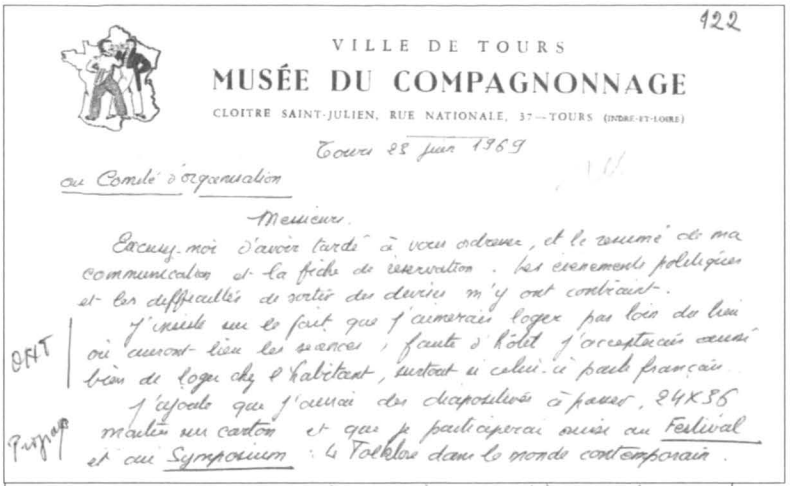

VILLE DE TOURS

MUSÉE DU COMPAGNONNAGE

CLOITRE SAINT-JULIEN, RUE NATIONALE, 37 — TOURS (INDRE-ET-LOIRE)

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Tours 28 juin 1969

au Comité d'organisation

Messieurs.

Excusez-moi d'avoir tardé à vous adresser, et le résumé de ma communication et la fiche de réservation. Les événements politiques et les difficultés de sortir des devises m'y ont contraint.

OUI | J'insiste sur le fait que j'aimerais loger par lieu de lieu où auront lieu les séances ; faute à l'état j'accepterais aussi bien de loger chez l'habitant, surtout si celui-ci parle français.

Pop | J'ajoute que j'aurai des diapositives à passer, 24 X 36 montées sur carton et que je participerai aussi au Festival et au Symposium : Le Folklore dans le monde contemporain.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Messieurs, mes bien cordiales salutations.

Rezette

42a. & 42b. The obverse and reverse/ending of the same letter.

de Rohan (?) – Czernowitz

se prenait devant à l'École pratique des Hautes Études près Sorbonne, il sollicite (rien que ça) une porte de derrière du cours (sans parler pas, devant, adjoint, et.) pour l'Ethnographie et l'Ethnologie. Il présente son plan de cours et plusieurs lettres le recommandant si chaudement (le meilleur ethnographe actuel plus de 200 études remarquables, ses ouvrages qui ont fait sensation, une revue Ethnographie, la seule internationale etc... Ceux qui l'apprécient avec des lettres écrites en français (donc rédigées sans doute par l'intéressé) viennent d'un savant suédois – que je ne connais pas, d'un Hongrois, des prof.s Nicolescu (Bucarest) du Père Blanche de la Cie de Jésus, auteur d'André Varagnac (bien sûr, mais lui écrit le français, ainsi que le jamais – j'ai dit au prof. Le Bras qui m'a montré le dossier, tout ce que j'avais à dire. Mais, ami de la famille de Rohan, M. Le Bras était déjà au courant de l'importance du nom qui ouvre toutes les portes c'est certain. M. Le Bras pense qu'il ne sera pas agréé et qu'on demandera une enquête auprès de Croix-Gourdan (ma suggestion) et auprès pour savoir ce que vaut réellement l'impétrant.

43a. & 43b. These paper slips may look strange (maybe inserted by mistake in the same envelope), because their connection to M. Pop is not at all obvious). Yet, since they arrived in an envelope destined to either Pop or the Congress (organizers) in Bucharest, and since they were included – as legal provision and property – in an academic research archive, they should also be put at the disposal or those historians who could be interested in the study of academic mentalities, of social-political career-building processes (on one side pushy selfpromoting, on other side suspicions-driven maneuvers) that are so human, universally.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Muhamed ÇITAKU – assistant professor at "Hasan Prishtina" University of Prishtina, Faculty of Philology (st. George Bush, no. 31, 10000, Prishtina, Kosovo). In 2014 he defended his PHD thesis in the field of models of Kosovo's novel, and since then has been teaching Sociology of Albanian Literature, Folklore and Literature, and the Course of Novel Theories. Research themes: Albanian literature, folklore and literature, the interaction of Albanian and European literature. Muhamed Çitaku is author of several articles and books, such as *Mythos dhe Eidos* [Mythos and Eidos], *Strategjitë e rrëfimit* [Storytelling strategies] and *Romani symbolist i Kosovës* [The symbolist novel of Kosovo]. Email: muhamed.citaku@uni-pr.edu.

Teodosio DE BONIS – Bachelor's student in Anthropology, Religion and Oriental Civilizations at the University of Bologna, Italy. He is specialising in Indology and writing his thesis about the traces of *Panchatantra* in Georgian literary tradition. He spent a semester at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia, studying and researching about Georgian mythology and folklore.

Chen GANG – currently the Chair Professor and Director of Center for Social and Economic Behavior Studies at Yunnan University of Finance and Economics in China, and serves as the Chief Editor of International Journal of Business Anthropology. He received an MA in anthropology from Iowa State University in USA in September 1993, and a PhD in anthropology from The Ohio State University in USA in June 2000. He used to work as lecturer in Xi'an Jiaotong University (1983-1990), post-doc research fellow in Department of Human Nutrition at The Ohio State University (2000-2004), visiting professor in Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Ohio University (2004-2006). His chief research interests are in the areas of business anthropology, food safety and culture, development anthropology and tourism, globalization and culture change. He has received numerous research grants both in USA and in China, and has published quite a large number of academic papers and books both in Chinese and English.

Elene GOGIASHVILI – Associate Professor in the Faculty of Humanities at "Ivane Javakhishvili" Tbilisi State University, Georgia, Department of Folkloristics. She was a research fellow at the Universities of Mainz and Erfurt, and the Research Libraries in Gotha and Wolfenbüttel, all in Germany. She is a member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research and Europäische Märchengesellschaft e.V. Her research interests mainly focus on folktales, and the relationship between literary and oral traditions. Email: elene.gogiashvili@tsu.ge.

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Tian GUANG – senior professor of business administration at Huaihua University, Hunan, China. He earned his PhD in Economic Anthropology from York University, Ontario, Canada, in 1995 and used to work as a professor at colleges in Canada and the US. His major research interesting is in Economical Anthropology, Regional Development, and Cross-Cultural Administration. He has published over one hundred academic articles in peer-reviewed referral journals and authored and co-authored 25 books published in English and Chinese.

Hicran KARATAŞ – Assistant Professor of Sociology at Bartın University in Turkey. She finished her Ph.D. with the thesis "Folk Law Practices and Exiled Brides" in 2016, published in 2018. Her post-doctoral research is based on eighteen months of fieldwork conducted among antiquity looters and smugglers. Both her doctorate and post-doctoral studies were awarded state-funded scholarships. Her research interests are sociology of law, criminal sociology, oral tradition, social problems, and practices. ORCID 0000-0002-4134-9159. Email: hkaratas@bartin.edu.tr.

Alma KUNANBAEVA – specializes in cultural anthropology, ethnomusicology, folklore, and linguistics. Graduated at the Moscow and Almaty State Conservatories, she earned a PhD from the State Institute of Theater, Music and Film in St. Petersburg, Russia (1982). In 1987-94, she was an Associate Professor at the St. Petersburg Pedagogical University. In 1985-89, she chaired the Research Department of Ethnography of the Peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus at the State Ethnographic Museum of the Peoples of the former USSR. Beginning 1993, while in the US, she has taught at various schools, including Stanford University (2004-18). She has been actively participating in numerous fieldworks, workshops, and international conferences dedicated to Central Asia. Author of over 50 scholarly articles and dozens of entries in Kazakh, Russian, British and American encyclopedias including the *New Grove's Dictionary of Music & Musicians* and the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Her book *The Soul of Kazakhstan* with photographs of Wayne Eastep, published by the ExxonMobil Corporation, came out in New York in 2001 in three languages (Kazakh, Russian, and English). In 2013, she authored and produced *Musical Treasures of the Silk Road House* – a unique set of six compact discs dedicated to the variety of Kazakh epic songs. In 2016, she authored a solid chapter on Kazakh singing tradition for the first American textbook *The Music of Central Asia* (from Indiana University Press). Since 2006, she is President of the Silk Road House – a cultural and educational center created to promote an impressive array of diverse ethnic traditions that symbolize the connections between peoples united by the historical Silk Road and nowadays brought to life in the US.

Daria ŁAWRYNOW – assistant in Institute of the Polish Language, Polish Academy of Science in Warsaw. In 2020 in University of Warsaw she received a Ph.D. in literary studies. Author of the book *Swoi wśród obcych. Tożsamość Kozaków kubańskich byłego Wojska Czarnomorskiego oraz Kozaków kazachstańskich (na podstawie tekstów folklorystycznych)* [A friend among foes. Identity of Kuban Black Sea Host Cossacks and Kazakh Cossacks (on the basis of folklore materials)]. Her research

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focuses on Cossacks culture and history, military folklore, Slavic languages, linguistic worldview, analysis of Soviet propaganda.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA – senior researcher with the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (Bucharest), did extensive fieldwork and documentation worldwide (from anthropological direct observation and participation to minor and major library funds research). He founded and edited the independent international annual journal "(East) European Meetings in Ethnomusicology" (1994-2009), unofficially edited the Romanian Academy's "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" during its national, 3rd „new series" (1986-1990), and formally edited its international series, "Revista de etnografie şi folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" (2007–). Twelve books published and numerous academic and cultural articles in national and international venues. Email: mmbalasa@yahoo.com.

Khankishi MEMMEDOV – doctoral student and associate professor with the History of Azerbaijani Literature Department of the Philological Faculty of the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical University. Carries out scientific work on "Paremy in Azerbaijani folklore: genres, functional structure and poetic features"; author of more than 100 scientific articles (more than 50 articles on proverbs and riddles) published in Azerbaijan, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Bashkiria, Uzbekistan, etc. Co-author of the books "Azerbaijani-English-Russian Paremiological Units" - Baku: 2019, 524 pp. (together with A. Abbasov), and "Azerbaijani-English Paremiological Units" – Baku: 2018, 344 pp. (together with A. Abbasov and P. Pashayeva). Author of monograph "Scientific roots of folklore" – Baku: 2019, 368 pages, "FFFF" (folklore, physics, fauna, flora) under print – Baku: 2022, 514 pp. Member of Azerbaijan Writers and Journalists Union (4 books of poems published in different times). Currently working on the book "Azerbaijani-Turkish-English Proverbs and Sayings". Email: kankishimamedov_53@mail.ru.

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Oleg S. SMOLIAK – professor at the department of Musicology and Methodology of Musical Art, Doctor of Art Studies (DA) of the Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University (Ternopil, Ukraine). He is a researcher in the field of musicology and folklore, teacher, conductor, member of the National Union of Composers of Ukraine, he is a winner of the regional cultural award in 2016 in the category "Ethnography and Museology – named after Volodymyr Hnatyuk." He is author of numerous scientific and methodological publications, educational programs in ethnography, music folklore. He is a compiler, editor and publisher of collections of folk songs and works by Ukrainian composers. Email: smolyak.te@gmail.com.

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Olena V. SPOLSKA – assistant at the department of Musicology and Methodology of Musical Art of the Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University (Ternopil, Ukraine). Her research activities are aimed at studying the state of Christmas rituals in Western Podillya from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. She has published more than twenty publications, including methodological developments, programs, articles, published in professional journals and in the materials of scientific conferences of various levels. Email: olenadovbush84@ gmail. com.

George-Bogdan TOFAN – born in Bilbor, Harghita County. In 2012, at "Babeş-Bolyai" University Cluj-Napoca, Faculty of Geography, was awarded the title of Doctor in Geography, with the thesis *Small depressions, factors and component of the humanization of the Eastern Carpathians Central Group. Case study: The northern area of the depression alignment (Drăgoiasa-Glodu-Bilbor-Secu-Borsec-Corbu-Tulgheş)*. He also completed a postdoctoral programme at the same institution: *Ethnicity, confession and electoral behaviour in Harghita, Covasna and Mureş Counties. A geographic study* (2008-2014). Since 2014 holds the position of university lecturer at "Vasile Goldiş" Western University Arad, Faculty of Economic, Information and Engineering Sciences, Baia Mare Branch. His scientific activity of 70 papers, studies, books, and maps is mostly focused on the same themes and area tackled in his doctoral paper.

Ruxandra TRANDAFOIU – reader (Associate Professor) in Media and Communication at Edge Hill University (UK). She researches the role of social media in the political engagement and activism of Eastern European diasporas, the political effect of Brexit on EU nationals in the UK, the impact of music and music policy on the identity of place in Eastern Europe and transmedia practices seen as practices of migration. Ruxandra is the author of *Diaspora Online: Identity Politics and Romanian Migrants* (Berghahn) and co-editor of *Media and Cosmopolitanism* (Peter Lang) and *The Globalization of Musics in Transit: Musical Migration and Tourism* (Routledge). Her new books are *The Politics of Migration and Diaspora in Eastern Europe: Media, Public Discourse and Policy*, and *Border Crossings and Mobilities on Screen*, both published by Routledge in 2022.

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